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In Memoriam

By the Corresponding Secretary.

In the death of Professor EDWARD ELBRIDGE SALISBURY at the beginning of the year, this Society has lost one of its most distinguished members and its greatest benefactor. The following paragraphs have been taken from a Memorial Address read at Yale University a few days after Professor Salisbury's death, and subsequently laid before the Society at its annual meeting. The whole address will be published in the Yale Bicentennial Series, as appeared to be most fitting in view of Professor Salisbury's life-long connection with that University; but it seemed appropriate that the members of this Society also should have an opportunity to review the life and Oriental work of one who through its whole existence has ever had the Society's interests at heart and done so much to raise it to its present position.

Professor Salisbury was born April 6, 1814, in Boston, Mass. After graduation at Yale in 1832, he spent several years in study abroad. He was appointed Professor of Arabic and Sanskrit at Yale in 1841, and retained his chair till 1854, when he surrendered his Sanskrit work to Professor Whitney. He was a life-member of this Society for nearly sixty years, its Corresponding

Secretary from 1846 to 1857, and President of the Society from 1863 to 1866, and again from 1873 to 1880. He died in his eighty-seventh year, Feb. 5, 1901.

. . . . The year after his Inaugural, which was delivered in 1843, the young professor, then just thirty, read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, held on May 28, 1844, a long paper on the History of Buddhism. He had "heard a Memoir on the origin of Buddhism, read by Mr. Burnouf, before the French Institute, in the spring of 1843," and fresh from this personal impression made by the great foreign scholar, he who had heard Burnouf attempted the task of inspiring others with his own interest. Such independent observations as are strewn through this long study are thoroughly sound. They show not new knowledge of detail but insight. Many of them are such as to pass unnoticed to-day, but that is only because we know more than was known in 1844.

The scholarly care of the writer of this paper is shown in the scrupulous reference to works consulted by him, German, French, and English, up to the time of its delivery. Some of these works are now classics; at that time the young scholar had just seen them fresh from the press and thought they "promised to be valuable." It is of this paper that Professor Whitney said that it was the first really scientific paper presented to the Society.

How wide was Professor Salisbury's interest in the Orient may be seen from the painstaking study on the Chinese origin of the compass, read before the Connecticut Society of Arts and Sciences in 1840. It is an abstract from Klaproth's letter to Humboldt, but it involves a careful investigation of the subject. Again, in 1848, in a report of the Directors, which is virtually a recommendation to the Oriental Society, Professor Salisbury urges the importance of Egyptology and the desirability of making excavations at Nineveh; while in the same recommendation occurs the first suggestion of the creation of the Classical Section, which eventually became the Philological Association. That society and its later growths, it is interesting to notice,

thus really sprang from the report to the Directors of the Oriental Society, which was accepted at the Quarterly Meeting on the 5th of January, 1848, twenty-one years before the Philological Association became incorporated; for till then the latter remained, under this name of Classical Section, a minor at home with the parent society.

Although Mr. Salisbury's title was "Professor of Arabic and Sanskrit," with his usual breadth of vision he included in his studies Persian, as a relative of Sanskrit, and in the fourth part of the first volume of the Oriental Journal he published a clear and correct paper on the Identification of the Signs of the Persian Cuneiform Alphabet (1849). The writer, to repeat his own words, will only "communicate results obtained" by other scholars, and the paper is not at all a contribution of original material, but it deserves mention particularly because it shows that Professor Salisbury had already worked his way through Lassen, Burnouf, Rawlinson, and the more recent *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Persischen Keilinschriften*, von Adolph Holtzmann; *Die Persischen Keilinschriften*, von Benfey (1847); and to have known of Oppert's *Lautsystem des Altpersischen* (1848), although, properly speaking, the whole subject lay apart from his official field of research.

On the Arabic side, Professor Salisbury was particularly active, publishing first a "Translation of unpublished Arabic Documents, with introduction and notes," first read before the Oriental Society in October, 1849; an independent but not the most original work presented by him; since in 1852 he read a critique of the genuineness of the so-called Nestorian monument of Singan-fu. Here he had to give a digest of the views of Abel-Rémusat, Neumann, Ritter, and Neander, and then "exhibit the true state of the evidence," which he does clearly and concisely.

Another paper on the Science of Moslem tradition (read in 1859 and published in 1861) is one of his most scholarly efforts, being "gathered from original sources, either only in manuscript

or so little accessible as to be nearly equivalent to unpublished authorities." The first of these documents is a MS. in the de Sacy collection which was now in Professor Salisbury's possession; the others are Delhi lithographs. This was followed in 1863 by a paper on The Muhammadan Doctrines of Predestination and Free Will, from Original Sources. These were, I think, articles especially agreeable to him to write, essentially historical, and in that one of his two fields in working which he took perhaps the greater satisfaction.

The same year, however, in which was published the former of these two papers, appeared in the *New Englander* an article entitled "Sketch of the Life and Works of Michael Angelo Buonarroti," in which Professor Salisbury gave a popular account of the great artist.

Another historical article was contributed to the same magazine in 1876, on some of the Relations between Islâm and Christianity; but in the meantime Mr. Salisbury had published in the Journal his most extensive scientific article, a Notice of the Book of Sulaimân's *First Ripe Fruit* (read at the meetings of May and October, 1864), a revelation of the 'mysteries' of the Nusairian sect, the article being a critical interpretation of the titular work (which had appeared that same year in Beirût without imprint of date or place) according to copies forwarded by Dr. Van Dyck, the able local missionary.

Of Professor Salisbury's subsequent lectures on art and works on genealogy it is unnecessary to speak here. He says of his own contributions to Orientalia that he published his papers in the Journal of the Oriental Society "more as an amateur student than as a master with authority." But as we have seen, there was real and rigid scholarship in all that he presented. Moreover, though not, perhaps, "master with authority," his abilities were fully recognized by learned confreres, as bears witness the fact that he was elected a member of the Asiatic Society of Paris when he was only twenty-four years old (1838); of the two Academies of Arts and Sciences of Connecticut and Boston in

1839 and 1848, respectively; a corresponding member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres at Constantinople in 1855; a corresponding member of the German Oriental Society in 1859; and of the Antiquarian Society in 1861. He was twice given the degree of LL.D., once by Yale in 1869, and again by Harvard in 1886.

. . . . In this sketch of Mr. Salisbury's writings you have seen what he was as a scholar. But the energies thus early devoted to philology were not allowed to remain selfishly employed. The young professor was appointed in 1841, and after studying abroad a second time, with Lassen in Germany, and Burnouf in France, as previously he had studied with Bopp in Berlin, and Garcin de Tassy and de Sacy in Paris, he assumed the duties of his office in 1843. The year before this, chiefly in the interest of missionary work, had been founded the American Oriental Society (in 1842, three years before the organization of the German Oriental Society). Into this opening for new labor Mr. Salisbury on his return from abroad flung himself with ardor. To him it was to be a society which should concentrate activities till then scattered and unorganized. There are few living who know how much Mr. Salisbury has done for this Society. As has been said by one of his colleagues in a recent review of his life: "No notice of Prof. Salisbury would be complete without an emphatic recognition of his invaluble services in the development of that Society by the unstinted expenditure of time, labor, and money." For Mr. Salisbury not only supported the Society, but he contributed besides the constant spur of his own example in offering memoirs, suggesting improvements, and last but not least in being present as a duty at the meetings of the Society. For eleven years he was its Corresponding Secretary, and for ten years the Society's honored President.

Of his own work in behalf of the Society he himself says merely that "he labored to make its Journal the vehicle of some valuable contributions, as well as for the general prosperity of the Society—not wholly without success, due in a large meas-

ure to the coöperation of learned American missionaries." (Class-book of 1832.) But let us add that of his long service in behalf of the Society, an active membership from almost its beginning to his death, nearly three score years, is itself witness; nor does that testimony stand alone. Ten years ago Professor Whitney wrote as follows: "Professor Salisbury, by his own writings and by the active correspondence which he kept up with American missionaries . . . provided most of the material for publication; he also himself procured a number of fonts of Oriental type—mostly the first of this kind in the country, and still in part the only ones—for use in printing the Journal; and, not less in importance, he met the expenses of publication of volume after volume . . . For some ten years Professor Salisbury was virtually the Society, doing its work and paying its bills. He gave it standing and credit in the world of scholars, as an organization that could originate and could make public valuable material" (April, 1891). Such also is the testimony of Professor Lanman, who, six years ago in his address in memory of Professor Whitney, alluded to Professor Salisbury as the "life and soul of the Society" during the period of its earlier growth.

Nor has the Oriental Society ever forgotten him, and when by a happy chance it has met on his birthday, even members of the Society who knew Professor Salisbury only by his works have felt a sense of personal gratification in sending to him, the honored friend of the Society, a congratulatory telegram. In reply to one of these despatches sent two years ago on his eighty-fifth birthday, Professor Salisbury responded by sending in turn his own congratulations to the Society "on what it has grown to be from its small beginnings of more than fifty years ago;" and there was none that heard the message who did not add to these unassuming words, "Thanks largely to him that sent the message."

The Beginning of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic.[1]—By PAUL HAUPT, Professor in Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

FOR more than ten years after Geo. Smith's discovery of the twelve tablets of the Babylonian Nimrod[2] Epic, in 1872, the fragment K. 3200, with the description of the siege of Erech, was considered to be the first fragment of the series,[3] until I succeeded, nearly twenty years ago, in finding the beginning of the epic. While autographing the text for my edition, I noticed that the indistinct traces of the first line of the fragment K. 2756, c, which had generally been assigned to the third tablet of the series, lent themselves to the characters constituting the name of the series, *ša naqba emuru*. As the opening line is generally used as the name of the series, it was evident that I had at last discovered the first tablet and the opening fragment of the epic.

Delitzsch, in the second edition of Mürdter's *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens* (Calw and Stuttgart, 1891), accepted my identification; so, too, Dr. Alfred Jeremias in his *Izdubar Nimrod* (Leipzig, 1891). On plate iv of Jeremias' book I published a new fragment giving the last four characters of the first line of the series, viz., *di-ma-a-ti*. Although Jeremias adopted my identification of the first fragment of the series, he still believed that the description of the siege of Erech on K. 3200 belonged to the first tablet, while he assigned the other fragments of the first tablet in my edition to the second tablet of the series. We find this old error even in Professor Jastrow's excellent book *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston, 1898), p. 472.

In his transliteration and translation of the Nimrod Epic, published in the sixth volume of Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* (Berlin, 1900), Professor Jensen believes, with me, that the

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[1] Read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society in New York, April, 1901.

[2] Cf. my remarks in the Critical Notes on Proverbs (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 33, l. 18.

[3] Cf. Geo. Smith, *Assyr. Discoveries*, fifth edition (London, 1875), p. 168; *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, ed. A. H. Sayce (London, 1880), p. 192; German translation, by Hermann Delitzsch (Leipzig, 1876), p. 169.

fragments assigned by Jeremias and Jastrow to the second tablet constitute the first tablet of the series, and the initiated know that Jensen would no doubt have preferred to make my first tablet the last of the series if he had had the ghost of a chance.[1] He seems to consider the identification of the first fragment a very simple thing. He says the number of the tablet is fixed by the first line, which is identical with the name of the series.[2] It is undoubtedly very simple, after the indications given in my edition; but before the publication of my text it was not so easy. I had autographed several pages of my edition before I made the discovery, and I had to rewrite several pages in order to give the fragments of the first tablet in their proper order.

Jensen also adopts my theory that K. 3200, generally supposed to be a fragment of the first tablet, does not belong to the Gilgamesh series.[3] This fragment describes a siege of the ancient city of Erech. Men and beasts were all in a panic. The she-asses trampled under foot their foals, the wild cows cared not[4] for their calves. And the people were just as much frightened[5] as the beasts; like doves moaned the maidens.[6] The gods of Erech, the well-walled,[7] turned to flies humming through the squares; the guardian angels of Erech, the well-walled, turned to mice and slipped away into holes. For three years was the city of Erech besieged by the enemy: the gates were barred and fastened; the goddess Istar could not make head[8] against Erech's enemies.[9]

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[1] Eighteen years ago I assigned the two fragments K. 2589 and K. 8590 (Nos. 5 and 6 of my edition), tentatively, to the third tablet of the series. Jensen, on p. 189 of his translation, gives them as columns iii and iv of the seventh tablet, but on p. x of his introductory remarks he assigns them again to the second tablet.

[2] Cf. KB. 6, 117. n. 2 and contrast A. Jeremias, *Izdubar Nimrod*, p. 14.

[3] Contrast Bezold's *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection in the British Museum*, p. 2078, b (London, 1899).

[4] Lit. *hated;* cf. *μισέω* Matt. 6, 24; Luke 14, 26; 16, 13; John 12, 25; Rom. 9, 13.

[5] Jensen: *brüllt;* see, however, Critical Notes on Proverbs (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 61, l. 46.

[6] *Cf.* Nah. 2, 8; see *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 3, 103.

[7] Jensen: *Hürden-Erech!*

[8] For the corresponding Hebrew phrase נתן ראש see Crit. Notes on Ezra-Nehemiah (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 70, l. 8.

[9] The Assyrian text reads as follows:—*idûšâ mûrešina atânâti || izîrâ pûrešina lî'âti || kîma bûlu ummâni ixâtî:* || *kîma summâti idâmumâ ardâti || ilâni ša Uruk supûri || ittûrû ana zumbe ixâbubû ina rêbâti ||*

Professor Jensen, referring the masculine suffix of *nakrišu* to the goddess, translates, *Istar does not put her head upon her enemy*,[1] which is absolutely meaningless.

There are a number of peculiar renderings in Jensen's work which are characteristic of his idiosyncrasies rather than of his scholarship. He thinks it more scientific to translate what he calls literally; he uses such preposterous phrases, for instance, as *sie machten Zunge*[2] (p. 21, l. 134); *seine Nase war gesenkt* (p. 87, l. 1); *ihr Bauch sich erheitert* (p. 87, l. 16); *die Freudenmädchen ihren Bauch erschüttern* (p. 91, l. 51). He thinks it more accurate to say *he loosens dreams*[3] instead of *he interprets them* (Assyr. *šunâtu ipâšar*), and my unscientific translation *über mein Antlitz flossen meine Thränen*[4] is replaced by *auf die "Mauer meiner Nase" gehen meine Thränen(güsse)*, which is picturesque but wrong: *dûr appi* does not mean the *wall of the nose* but the *circuit of the nose*, i. e. the cheeks (cf. KAT.[2] 501, 2). Jensen is right, however, in adopting my theory that the fragment describing the siege of Erech does not belong to the series. There is no room for it in the narrative.

The beginning of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic is, unfortunately, very much mutilated and, therefore, rather difficult. In his *Assyrian Discoveries*, Geo. Smith translated the first line: *The waters of the fountain he had seen, the hero, Izdubar.* In Smith's *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, edited by A. H. Sayce (p. 183), the line was explained to mean: *The canals, the toiling hero, the god Izdubar had seen.* In the German translation of Smith's work we find the rendering, *Das Unglück, das man Izdubar betreffen sah*, 'the calamity which was seen to come over Izdubar.' But the ideograms KU-GAR IZ-ṬU-BAR mean *Series of Izdubar* and do not belong to the text of the first line of the epic;[5] the line ends, as I stated above, with *-di-ma-a-ti.*

šedu ša Uruk supûri || ittûrû ana šikke-ma ittáçû ina nunçabâti || III šanâta âl Uruk lâmî nakru || abbullâti uddulâ, nadû xargulla || Ištar ana nakrišu ul išákan qaqqadsa || etc.

[1] "*Setzt*" *Istar* "*ihr Haupt*" *nicht auf ihren Feind.*

[2] If a German translated the English phrase *the dog gave tongue*, literally, *der Hund gab Zunge*, he would simply show that he did not understand the English idiom, and translations like *Pferdemann* for *horseman* would be ridiculous.

[3] "*Löst*" *die Traumbilder* (p. 197, l. 210).

[4] Assyr. *elî dûr appiia illakâ dîmâ'a* (KAT.[2] 63, 15).

[5] Cf. *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. I (Leipzig, 1889), p. 102.

Now what is the meaning of this first line *ša naqba emuru* [ ]*-di-ma-a-ti?* Jensen translates: *who saw everything .... of the land.* It is true that we have in Assyrian a word *nagbu* or *nagpu* (with ג) which means *totality, all;* but it is never used without a following genitive or a possessive suffix. *Who saw everything* would be *ša kalâma emuru. Naqbu* in this connection must be the stem נקב, and *naqbu*, with ק, means *depth*, especially the *interior of the earth* which was imagined as a high mountain filled with water and floating on the universal sea, the *apsû* (like a gas-tank).[1] The *naqbu*[2] corresponds to the *fountains of the great deep* in the Biblical account of the Flood (Gen. 7, 11: נִבְקְעוּ כָל־מַעְיְנוֹת תְּהוֹם). In the beginning of Psalm 24 we read that JHVH has founded the earth on the seas and established it on the floods (כִּי הוּא עַל־יַמִּים יְסָדָהּ ‖ וְעַל־נְהָרוֹת יְכוֹנְנָהָ); *seas* and *floods* are amplicative plurals for the *great sea* and the *great flood*, just as *By the rivers of Babylon* in the beginning of Ps. 137 means *By the great river of Babylon*, i. e. the Euphrates;[3] נהרות corresponds to the Assyrian *apsû* and יַמִּים to *naqbu.*

Now in l. 290 of the eleventh tablet of the Nimrod-Epic, containing the cuneiform account of the Deluge, we read that Gilgamesh descended to the subterraneous ocean in order to obtain the plant of life. After Gilgamesh had been healed by the wife of his ancestor, Hasîs-atra,[4] he boarded his ship with his ferryman; but when they were ready to sail, Hasîs-atra's wife said to her husband: Izdubar has come here undergoing all kinds of hardships,[5] what wilt thou give him now that he is returning to his land? Thereupon Gilgamesh unstepped the mast[6] and the ship

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[1] See the plate representing *Die Welt nach babylonischer Vorstellung* in Jensen's *Kosmologie* (Strassburg, 1890).

[2] Cf. KB. 6, 284, 55.

[3] Cf. Crit. Notes on Proverbs (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 34, l. 31.

[4] Cf. for this name my remarks in Bulletin No. 18 of the Twelfth International Congress of Orientalists (Rome, 1899), p. 11.

[5] Assyr. *illika, enaxa, išûṭa.* Jensen translates *hat gezogen*, but *šâṭu* 'to drag' means also 'to proceed laboriously, to move on with effort (German *sich schleppen*).

[6] Assyr. *išši parîsa.* Jensen translates: *Hat er doch die (Schiffs)stange erhoben;* but he would probably experience some difficulty in pushing a boat across the ocean with a pole. Even a setting pole of 60 cubits or 105 feet (KB. 6, 22ǀ, 41, 45) might not answer the purpose. *Parîsu* (cf.

was brought near the shore. Then Hasîs-atra said to Gilgamesh: What shall I give thee now that thou art returning to thy land? I will disclose to thee a secret matter and the mystery of the gods will I reveal to thee. There is a plant like the buck-thorn, its stem is like the dagger-vine. If thy hands obtain this plant, thou wilt live for ever.

When Gilgamesh heard this, he opened the well, attached heavy stones to his belt, so that they dragged him down to the bottom of the sea. He took the plant of life, cut off the heavy stones from his belt, and came up again from the *naqbu*, the interior of the earth.

Now the first line of the epic evidently refers to Gilgamesh's descent to the subterraneous ocean in quest of the plant of life. I would, therefore, read: *Ša naqba emuru išdi mâti*, i. e. *Who saw the great deep, the bottom of the earth.*

Before Gilgamesh reached the abode of his ancestor Hasîs-atra he had to cross the *me mûti*, the Waters of Death, as described in the tenth tablet of the epic.[1] We expect a reference to this unique adventure in the beginning of the epic. I would, therefore, read the second line: [*ša me mûti*] *îdâ kâla mânaxti* 'who saw the waters of death, undergoing all kinds of hardships'; and in the third line *ikšud-ma mitxariš šâm nibitti*[2] 'he obtained at the same time the plant of promise.' The verbal form in the third line has no overlapping vowel like the verbal forms in the first two lines; consequently the apodosis begins in the third line.

I would, therefore, restore the beginning of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic as follows:—He who saw the great deep, the bottom of the earth, who beheld the waters of death, undergoing all kinds of hardships: he obtained at the same time the plant of promise, the primal[3] knowledge of everything; he found the

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l. 65 of the Account of the Deluge) must mean *mast*. For the Babylonian cubit, see Notes on the English translation of Ezekiel (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 180, l. 23; cf. Crit. Notes on Numbers, p. 66, l. 2. According to Peiser in his *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* (Feb., 1901), col. 64, the GAR was equal to 14 cubits, so that Jensen's setting pole (or *Ruderstange*) would have a length of 122½ feet.

[1] Cf. KB. 6, 216, 25; 220, 50.

[2] Cf. KB. 6, 250, l. 295; contrast Delitzsch's *Assyr. Handwörterbuch*, p. 446, a. *Nibittu*, however, might also be a special word for *spring*= *namba'u*, from נבע (cf. *qibittu* from קבע, *sibitti* 'seven,' *erbitti* 'four,' etc.).

[3] Jensen reads *kutum* instead of *qudum*; cf. קֶדֶם Prov. 8, 22.

secret, he revealed the mystery, he brought the account from the time before the flood, he made the long journey[1] undergoing all kinds of hardships, and wrote on a tablet all his adventures. He built the wall of Erech the well-walled, and Eanna (the temple of Istar in Erech) the sacred and holy abode. The following line is mutilated; the only words preserved are *-šu ša kîma qe* 'his . . . which [shines] like brass.' Then we should, perhaps, read *iltanassa šiptašu ša lâ umaššaru* 'he pronounced his charm which cannot be broken,'[2] . . . . the slab which from days of old . . .[3]

If the text were not so fragmentary it would be perfectly plain. At any rate, it seems to me certain that the first lines contain particular references to Gilgamesh's wondrous adventures, his descent to the great deep, his crossing of the waters of death, and the obtaining of the plant of life, not vague generalities as in Jensen's translation.[4] The first line after which the entire series is called *ša naqba emuru* [*iš*]*di mâti* must no doubt be translated, not *who saw everything . . . . of the land*, but *whō saw the great deep, the bottom of the earth.*

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[1] Cf. KB. 6, 204, 19; 210, 9; 218, 5.

[2] Cf. KB. 6, 266, 6.

[3] The Assyrian text may be restored as follows:—*ša naqba emuru* | [*iš*]*di mâti* || [*ša me mâti*] *îdû* | *kâla* [*mânaxti* || *ikšu*]*d-ma mitxariš* | [*šâm nibitti* || *qu*]*dum nîmêqi* | *ša kalâmi* [*exuz* || *ni*]*çirta emur-ma* | *katimta* [*iptî*] || *ûbla ṭema* | *ša lam abûbi* || *urxa rûqta illikâma* | *ânix* [*šâ'iṭ* || *ukîn*] *ina narî* | *kâlu mânax*[*tišu* || *ušepiš?*] *dûr* | *ša Uruk su*[*pûri* || *E-an*]*-na qudduši* | *šunummi*[*ellim* || . . . .]*našu* | *ša kìma qe* [. . . . || . . . .] *iltanassa šiptašu* | *ša lâ umaššaru* [. . . . || . . . .] *askuppatu* | *ša ultu û*[*me* . . . . || etc.

[4] The best renderings in Jensen's work are undoubtedly those derived from Delitzsch's *Assyr. Handwörterbuch.*

The Names of the Hebrew Vowels.[1]—By PAUL HAUPT, Professor in Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

IN a footnote of my paper on the semi-vowel *y* in Assyrian, published fourteen years ago in the second volume of the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*,[2] I remarked that the references in § 6 of Gesenius-Kautsch's Hebrew Grammar to the phonetic works of Brücke, Merkel, Sievers, Sweet, Techmer, Vietor, Trautmann, etc., seemed to figure merely as a traditional ornament, and that a short talk of fifteen minutes with Sievers would undoubtedly induce the distinguished editor of Gesenius' work to undertake a radical transformation of that paragraph. I found it necessary to point out to such eminent Semitic scholars as Professor Nöldeke, of Strassburg, and the late Professor Paul de Lagarde, of Göttingen, that the English *th* was neither an *aspirata* nor an *affricata* but a *spirans*, adding that Indo-European scholars who happened to see those remarks would perhaps be surprised that I deemed it necessary to discuss the elements of phonetics.[3] I also called attention[4] to the fact that we found an exact analogy to the *spiration* of Hebrew postvocalic *b*, *g*, *d*, *p*, *k*, *t* in Celtic; but Semitic scholars do not seem to pay any attention to phonetics.[5] In the Oxford translation of the latest edition of Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar,[6] the modification of postvocalic בגדכפת is still

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[1] Read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society in New York, April, 1901.

[2] Leipzig, 1887, p. 263, n. 2.

[3] Cf. the remarks at the end of note 3 on p. 20 of my *Sumerische Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879).

[4] See my paper *On the pronunciation of tr in Old Persian* in *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 59 (August, 1887), p. 117[b]; C. F. Lehmann, *Šamaššumukîn*, part 2 (Leipzig, 1892), p. 103[a] s. v. Cf. also Lagarde's *Mittheilungen* 2, 45 (Göttingen, 1887).

[5] In the first edition (Leipzig, 1880) of his excellent *Syrische Grammatik*, Nöldeke called the change of postvocalic *b* to *v*, *p* to *f*, etc., *affrication*; in the second edition (Leipzig, 1898) he uses the term *assibilation*.

[6] Oxford, 1898, § 21; so, too, in the German original (Leipzig, 1896). Contrast Brockelmann's *Syrische Grammatik* (Berlin, 1899), § 42.

termed *The Aspiration of the Tenues;* but *b, g, d,* are no *tenues,* and all six consonants are pronounced as spirants after a preceding vowel, not as aspirates.

Nor have Semitic scholars, as a rule, taken the trouble to study my treatise on the Semitic sounds and their transliteration, published eleven years ago in the first part of the Johns Hopkins Contributions to Assyriology and Comparative Semitic Philology.[1] There are, however, a few notable exceptions. The distinguished Egyptologist of the University of Leipzig and editor of Bædeker's *Egypt,* Professor Steindorff, one of my first students in the University of Göttingen, has evidently studied my phonetic researches for the phonology of his Coptic Grammar;[2] and the well-known Arabist, Count Landberg (two of whose magnificent collections, comprising 2,000 valuable Arabic (Persian and Turkish) manuscripts, have recently been presented to Yale and Princeton) told me, at the last Oriental Congress, held in Rome in 1899, that he had found my phonetic researches very helpful for his studies in Arabic dialectology; and a few days ago Professor Eduard Sievers, of Leipzig, sent me the first part of his elaborate work on Hebrew Metrics,[3] which will have a most wholesome effect on the current ideas of Hebrew poetry. He states there in his phonological introduction (p. 14, n. 1) that he agrees on all essential points with my views concerning the Semitic consonants. Sievers' treatise on Hebrew meters, which is a wonderful piece of work in view of the fact that he is not a Hebraist but a Germanic scholar (although he had the assistance of some distinguished Semitists like Socin, Kautsch, and Buhl), will probably give a new impetus to phonetic studies among Semitic scholars,[4] and I hope the next edition of Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, which will be issued in the course of this year, will eliminate several time-honored errors in the domain of Semitic phonetics.

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[1] *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleichenden semitischen Sprachwissenschaft,* vol. 1, part 1 (Leipzig, 1889), pp. 249-267.

[2] *Koptische Grammatik* (Berlin, 1894).

[3] *Metrische Studien I. Studien zur hebräischen Metrik* in vol. 21 of the *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (Leipzig, 1901).

[4] The only Semitic grammar in which we find a phonology based on the principles of modern phonetics is Brockelmann's *Syrische Grammatik* (Berlin, 1899).

A characteristic illustration of phonetic ignorance is the traditional rendering of the names of the Hebrew vowels. The Hebrew names are quite appropriate and show that the old Hebrew grammarians knew a good deal more about phonetics than the average modern Hebraists; but the traditional rendering of the Hebrew terms is in some cases simply preposterous. The *i*-vowel is called by the Hebrew grammarians חִירֶק; this stem is invariably translated *gnashing*,[1] as though you could produce an *i*-vowel by gnashing the teeth! It is true that the Hebrew verb חרק means *to gnash the teeth* in five passages of the Old Testament, but the initial gutteral may correspond not only to the Arabic ح (cf. حرق نابه) but also to the Arabic خ, and خرق means *to rend*, and the noun خرق *xarq* denotes *rent, fissure, narrow opening;* خرق الفم *xarq el-fami* is the *narrow opening of the mouth, narrow lip-aperture* or *lip-spreading* (by spreading out the corners of the mouth)—a very appropriate name for the vowel *i*. All the phonetic names of the Hebrew vowels refer to the lip-positions, not the tongue-positions.

In the same way the vowel *e* is called צֵרִי which corresponds to the Syriac ܨܪܝ *breach, fissure, rent, narrow opening*, from the stem צָרָא *to rend, to break, to split;* but instead of rendering צֵרִי by *narrow opening*, Hebrew grammarians generally give the vague translation *division, parting* (of the mouth)[2] as though the other vowels could be formed without parting the mouth. The other name of the *e*-vowel שֶׁבֶר and the Arabic name كسر *kasr* have the same meaning; they do not mean *breaking*,[3] as is gen-

[1] Cf. § 8, d of the Oxford translation of Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar; in the 26th edition of the German original: *Knirschung;* so, too, Stade, in his *Lehrbuch der hebr. Gramm.* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 40 (§ 35, a). König in his *Lehrgebäude der hebr. Sprache*, vol. I (Leipzig, 1881), p. 44, gives *Knirschen, Kreischen*, following Gesenius' *Lehrgebäude* (Leipzig, 1817), p. 38.

[2] So in the Oxford translation of Gesenius' grammar; in the German original: *Spaltung, Riss (des Mundes).* This would be an appropriate name for *harelip* (German *Hasenscharte*) but not for the vowel *e*. Stade, § 35, a: צֵרִי *oder auch* שֶׁבֶר *vom Spalten oder Aufreissen des Mundes;* König, § 9, 5: *Zerreissung.*

[3] Kautzsch: *Brechung*, a grammatical term introduced by Jacob Grimm for the vocalic assimilation produced by an *a*-vowel in the preceding syllable, e. g. *helfam* for *hilfam* and *gaholfan* for *gahulfan.*

erally translated, but *breach, narrow opening*, referring to the lip-spreading characteristic of the *i* and *e* vowels.

The wider opening of the mouth in the case of the vowel *a* is termed פַּתַח, which could not be misunderstood; also in Arabic and Syriac it is called فتح *fatḥ* and ܦܬܰܚ *opening*, respectively. The long *â*-vowel, however, is called קָמֵץ *contraction* (of the corners of the mouth), because it was pronounced not as a pure *â* as in *father*, but as a Swedish *å* (Danish *aa*)[1] or our English *aw* in *awl, all*, etc.

In the same way the *o*-vowel is called חוֹלָם which describes the medium lip-narrowing in the pronunciation of the *o*-vowel; the verb חלם is used in post-Biblical Hebrew of the mending of skins (עור חלים) which were occasionally repaired by *binding them up*, as it is called in the Judaic story of the stratagem of the Gibeonites in Josh. 9, 4, where the *Polychrome Bible* adds the explanation that the edges of a rent were tied around with a string. Wine-skins are mended in the East by being bound up in this way, or patched, or even by covering the holes with round, flat pieces of wood. The Hebrew term used in the Book of Joshua is מְצֹרָרִים. The term חולם was probably preferred to a derivative of the stem צרר in order to avoid confusion with the name צרי; besides, a derivative of צרר would have been ambiguous, as there are several homonym stems in Hebrew owing to the threefold character of the Hebrew צ; which represents not only an Arabic ص, but also ظ and ض.[2]

The names for the *u*-vowel, שׁוּרֶק and קִבּוּץ have practically the same meaning; they both denote the close lip-narrowing where the lips are contracted to a narrow chink; the only difference between חולם and שורק, קבוץ is that חולם denotes a less close lip-narrowing: קמץ denotes the *slight lip-narrowing* where only the corners of the mouth are contracted, חולם is the *medium lip-narrowing*, with a wider and broader opening than in the case of קמץ, while קבוץ and שורק represent the *close lip-narrowing* where the lips are brought so close together that the mouth is almost

[1] The Swedish *å* is used now also in Danish instead of *aa*.

[2] Cf. Appendix III in Driver's *Hebrew Tenses*[3] (Oxford, 1892), pp. 222 ff.; Haupt, *Beiträge zur assyr. Lautlehre* (Göttingen, 1883), pp. 92–97.

closed.[1] In Arabic the *u*-sound is called ضمّ from ضمّ *to put the ends together*, evidently referring to the *rounding* of the lips. It is, of course, wrong to render the Hebrew name for *û*, שׁוּרֶק by *whistling* (συρισμός); the vowel *û* is no whistling, just as the *i*-vowel is not produced by gnashing the teeth, but the rounding of the lips in whistling is about the same as in the formation of the vowel *u*. The other name of the *o*-vowel מְלֹא פוּם *fullness of the mouth* refers to the greater size of the resonance-chamber which is characteristic of the vowel *o* in distinction from the vowel *u*. In the same way the ضمّ is sometimes called in Arabic قبو *qâbu* (cf. Heb. קֵבָה *abdominal cavity, stomach*, etc.) *cavity*.

All these Hebrew names appropriately describe the lip-positions of the several vowels, while the other name of the *u*-vowel, שְׁלֹשׁ נְקֻדוֹת *three points* describes the form of the vowel-sign ׃ קִבּוּץ. In the same way the *Umlaut* of *a, ă* (פתח קטון) is called סְגוֹל *bunch of grapes*, because the vowel-sign for it consists of three dots ׃ resembling a bunch of grapes.

Several of the names of the Hebrew vowels (except קִבּוּץ, סְגוֹל, שֶׁבֶר, מְלֹא פוּם, and שְׁלֹשׁ נְקֻדוֹת) have an artificial vocalization in order to have the corresponding vowel-sound in the first syllable (or in both) of the name. The regular form for פַּתַח would be פְּתַח, and the original forms of צֵרֵי, חִירֶק, שׁוּרֶק, חוֹלֶם, שֶׁרֶק, חֶלֶם, חֶרֶק, צֵרִי, קָמֶץ may have been צְרִי, חְרֶק, שְׂרֶק, חְלֶם, קְמֶץ. In the same way the name for the neutral vowel or *murmelvocal* is pronounced *Shĕvâ*, but the original form may have been שַׁבָּא *chip*. This name has been fully discussed[2] by one of my former students, Professor Casper Levias, of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati.

Lagarde's[3] idea that the names פַּתַח and קָמֶץ should be pronounced as Aramaic participles, viz. פָּתַח, קָמֵץ, is untenable. In a special paper I shall discuss the names of the vowels in Syriac.

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[1] Cf. Henry Sweet, *A Primer of Phonetics* (Oxford, 1890), p. 6.

[2] In vol. 16 of the *American Journal of Philology* (Baltimore, 1895), pp. 28–37; cf. especially p. 34, n. 5.

[3] Cf. Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, 2, 175 (Göttingen, 1887).

The Marburg Collection of Cypriote Antiquities. — By Christopher Johnston, Professor in Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Through the liberality of Mr. Theodore Marburg, of Baltimore, the Johns Hopkins University has recently come into possession of the valuable and interesting collection of Cypriote antiquities acquired by Mr. Marburg from Col. Falkland Warren, C.M.G., who filled the office of Chief Secretary to the Government of Cyprus from 1879 to 1891. Col. Warren, whose papers on Cyprian coins are well known to numismatists, during his long residence in Cyprus devoted much attention to the study of archæology and was an ardent collector of archæological objects. For this his official position gave him exceptional advantages.

The objects comprising the collection which, through the generous gift of Mr. Marburg, is now the property of the Johns Hopkins University, were in part found by Col. Warren himself in the course of excavations carried on under his supervision, in part purchased by him from the peasants who found them. The objects purchased, as he states in a letter to Mr. Marburg, were specially selected from a large number brought to him at various times. The collection, which numbers 122 separate pieces, contains 49 ornaments of gold, 13 seal-cylinders, 20 engraved gems and seals, and 40 scarabs and other small objects. Babylonian, Phœnician, Egyptian, and Greek art are all represented by characteristic examples, and the period of time covered would seem to be from about 800 to 150 B. C. Earrings seem to have possessed a special attraction for the ladies of ancient Cyprus, and the very large number of these ornaments found has been remarked by all writers on Cyprian archæology.

Of the 49 gold ornaments in the Marburg collection no less than 42 are earrings or parts of earrings. The most usual pattern is the circle terminating in the head of a lion, a lynx, an ibex, or a bull, the eyes of the animal being usually represented by tiny gems set in the gold socket. The workmanship is remarkably fine. Some earrings consist of a simple crescentic ring without ornamental addition; many, of all designs, have pendants attached; and a few have jeweled settings. A particularly

attractive design, which Col. Warren characterizes as Etruscan, consists of a disc formed of concentric beaded rings, and shaped like a shield with central boss. Three finely wrought pendants give a graceful effect to the whole.

There are seven gold finger rings, four of which are set with engraved gems. One of them has a carnelian setting in which an Athene is beautifully cut.

Of the 13 seal-cylinders, 6 have cuneiform inscriptions of the archaic type, and all are engraved with mythological subjects deeply incised. A scarab of black hematite and a seal of the same material contain brief inscriptions in Cypriote characters. Many of the remaining seals are finely engraved and afford interesting examples of the gem cutter's art. A fine intaglio, cut in red sard, contains a beautifully executed head of Alexander the Great, which Col. Warren believes to have been a contemporary portrait. A very interesting cameo contains three heads concentrically arranged—Alexander, the Olympian Zeus, and the Egyptian god Amon.

The gem of the whole collection is unquestionably the beautiful intaglio on which is depicted the goddess Athene overcoming a Titan. The goddess, fully armed, holds in one hand a long spear, while with the other she turns the Gorgon shield towards her opponent. The Titan, of human form from the waist upward while his lower extremities are formed by two scaly serpents, is sinking back in consternation, his arms uplifted as though to ward off the terrible sight. All the details are marvelously executed, and the effect of the whole as seen by transmitted light is exquisite. It is cut in an oval of pale yellow sard measuring 2.3 by 1.5 inches.

I have not been able to make a careful study of this interesting collection, but hope to do so and to report upon it more fully in the future.

The Fall of Nineveh.[1]—By Christopher Johnston, Professor in Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

At the death of King Ashurbanipal, in 626 B. C., the Assyrian empire still extended from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean. But to the West, Syria, disorganized by the Scythian and Kimmerian invasion, was ready to fall a prey to Egypt at the first favorable opportunity. To the North the Scythians held full sway and, though for the time being friendly to Assyria, were too powerful to be altogether comfortable neighbors. To the East, the Medes, enemies both of Assyria and of the Scythians, were pressing westward to the frontier of Assyria and southward into Elam, which had been devastated by Ashurbanipal and left defenseless. In the South, the Chaldean Nabopolassar promptly took advantage of the death of the Assyrian monarch to make himself king of Babylon, though at first his rule did not extend beyond the ancient city and the district immediately adjacent.

Ashurbanipal was succeeded by his son Ashur-etil-ilâni, of whose reign little is known. Dated contract tablets show that he ruled both in Assyria and in Babylonia until at least the year 622. He probably died soon after this date. His successor, and the last king of Assyria, was his brother Sin-shar-ishkun, the Saracus of classical writers. Fragments of his inscriptions have been found referring to wars in which the Assyrian arms were successful. These inscriptions seem to date from the earlier part of his reign, and it is probable that his adversaries were the Medes. Two contract tablets are dated at Sippara in the second year of this king, and one is dated at Erech in his seventh year, so that he could claim sovereignty in Babylonia down to the year 615 or later.

Between this date and 611 B. C. there must have been a change in the situation, since a contract tablet dated at Sippara in the fifteenth year of Nabopolassar indicates that the Chaldean king of Babylon then had possession of northern Babylonia. The inscriptions of Nabopolassar refer to wars in which the aid of the gods brought him success, and in one of them he claims

[1] Abstract of a paper read before the American Oriental Society, April 12, 1901. The paper will be published entire elsewhere.

the conquest of the Mesopotamian district of Subaru. From this it would appear that he had not only made himself master of a considerable portion, if not the whole, of Babylonia, but had overrun some of the most important provinces of the Assyrian empire. This rapid extension of the dominions of Nabopolassar argues weakness on the part of Assyria, and may well have coincided with the events described in Herodotus I, 103–106.

According to the Greek historian, the Medes, under their King Cyaxares, invaded Assyria and had actually invested Nineveh when the siege was raised by an army commanded by the Scythian king Madyes, son of Protothyes. There seems to be no good reason for doubting this statement, and the relief of Nineveh, which probably occurred in the year 610, left the Assyrian king Sin-shar-ishkun free to carry on a vigorous campaign against Nabopolassar, who, deprived of Median aid and opposed by some of the Babylonian cities, now found himself in a most dangerous predicament. He was saved by the Medes, who, having in the mean time signally defeated their Scythian opponents, now returned to the attack, and Nineveh was once more besieged. But the complete investment of the great city was by no means easy to accomplish. The Tigris ran close by her walls, and strong fortifications along the river connected her with the strong cities of Asshur and Kelach. The western bank of the Tigris gave communication with Mesopotamia, whence both supplies and troops could be drawn, and so long as this important district held out for Assyria the reduction of the capital was well nigh hopeless.

It was necessary, therefore, that the country to the west of the Tigris should be rendered useless both as a source of supplies and as a base of military operations. This seems to have been effected by dispatching strong detachments to thoroughly ravage the country, destroy all opposing forces, and render harmless the frontier cities of Babylonia which sided with Sin-shar-ishkun. Their object accomplished, the Median detachments could rejoin their main body, leaving to Nabopolassar the easy task of holding the devastated district in subjection.

When the Medes, after reducing Assyria, proceeded to dispossess their Scythian neighbors and to extend their dominions in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia was left to Nabopolassar and the wily Chaldean thus enjoyed the fruits of a vicarious victory. Nineveh was now cut off from outside aid, but behind her strong fortifica-

tions her garrison could still offer a stubborn resistance. When at length the Medes prevailed and the city fell, all was not yet lost. Kelach was little inferior to Nineveh in strength, and thither Sin-shar-ishkun fell back to make a new stand. But fate was against him. An unusual rise of the Tigris undermined the wall, and the city, now at the mercy of the besiegers, was sacked and burnt.

According to tradition, the siege of Nineveh lasted for two years, and this, if it be taken to include the whole course of events down to the fall of Kelach, is doubtless correct. As the Median attack, according to data derived from cuneiform sources, began in the year 608, it was in 606 B. C. that the reign of Sin-shar-ishkun came to an end together with the last remnants of the monarchy he represented.

Note on two Assyrian words hitherto unexplained.—By Christopher Johnston, Professor in Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

(1) *da'âlu.*

The word *da'âlu* is explained in none of the Assyrian dictionaries. Delitzsch (*Handw.*, p. 215) defines it as 'a name of occupation' (*ein Berufsname*); Meissner (*Supplement*, p. 30) as 'an official' (*ein Beamter*); while Muss-Arnolt (*Concise Dictionary*, p. 247) gives no definition at all. *da'âlu*, which occurs in five passages in Harper's *Letters*, seems to mean 'scout' or 'spy.'[1]

In the letter K. 760 (=H. 424) Iskhur-Bel writes to the king (obv. 6–9): *ina muxxi ṭêmi ša* ^{mât}*Urartâ* $^{am.}$*da'âle assápar; itûrû kî annî iqṭebi'âni* "I sent out scouts for information about Urartu. They have returned and report as follows." He then proceeds to quote the report of the *da'âle*, which contains precisely the sort of information likely to be furnished to a military commander by his intelligence department.

K. 645 (=H. 444) is a letter to the king from an official whose name is obliterated. He writes (rev. 3–9): *ša šarru belî išpuráni mâ* $^{am.}$*da'âle šupur; ana II-šu assápar; issenûte ittalkâni dibbe annûte iqṭebûni; issenûte udîna lâ ûçûni*, "My lord the king writes 'Send out scouts.' I have sent twice. Some have come in and make this report; others have not yet set forth." *issenûte* (*i-si-nu-te*) stands, of course, for *ištenûte*, the plural of *išten* 'one,' with the well known assimilation as in *assápar* for *aštápar*, etc. (Del., *Gram.* § 51, 2), and this is the only passage known to me in which the form occurs.

In the letter K. 1907 (=H. 148) Ašur-reçû'a writes to the king (obv. 3–4) in similar terms: *ša šarru belî išpuráni mâ* $^{am.}$*da'âleka* (*da-a-a-li-ka*) . . . . ^{âl}*Turušpâ šupur* "My lord the king writes to me 'Send your scouts . . . . . to (?) Turušpa.'" The remainder is broken away.

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[1] [Cf. R. Campbell Thompson's review of R. F. Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters* in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, vol. xvii, No. 3 (April, 1901), p. 163, n. 1.—P. H.]

In K. 1021 (=H. 309) Bel-emurani writes (obv. 4–8): *ina muxxi lišâni ša šarru belî išpuráni assapra* ^{am}*.da'âle. Udîni lâ illakâni; ina pânšunu adágal,* "In regard to my lord the king's message about the *lišânu*, I have dispatched scouts. They have not yet come in. I am waiting for them." What *lišânu* means here is not quite clear.

In K. 80 (=H. 52), Nabû-nadin-šum writes that, in consequence of orders received, he went after *takpirtu* (whatever that may mean); that he set out from Nineveh and proceeded as far as the town of Sasiqani. The letter concludes (rev. 2–10): *ṭêmu ana* ^{am}*.da'âle ša ištu Ninu'a issiṣa âṣâni u ana* ^{am}*.da'âle ša Kalxa assákanšunu, muk:*[1] *tubbalâ ina libbi* ^{âl}*. Kasappa tušâlikâ,* "I gave orders to the scouts that went with me from Nineveh and to those from Kelach 'Bring along (what you find?) to the town of Kasappa'" (cf. Del. *Wörterb.*, p. 472). As the meaning of *takpirtu*, upon which the whole context depends, is unknown (cf. Delitzsch's *Handw.*, p. 348^a), this passage is somewhat obscure. It would seem, however, that the *da'âle* were dispatched in various directions with orders to search out and bring in certain matters to a common rendezvous.

In the first two passages cited it seems clear that the *da'âle* were scouts or spies sent out to obtain information. In the three remaining passages, while the context is of too general a nature to be altogether decisive, the same meaning suits very well. This is further borne out by the *nisbeh* form in IV R 50, 3^a, where the witch is termed *da'âlitu*^{m} *ša bîrêti, xa'âṭitu*^{m} *ša rebâti,* "She who goes spying through the streets and prying through the market places."

The verb *dâlu*, from which *da'âlu* is derived, means 'to be in motion, to go about, go around,' and, as pointed out by Talquist (*Spr. der Contr. Nabuna'iḍs*), is to be compared to Syr. דָּל, Ar. دال (دال الزمان, etc.) which have about the same meaning. *Dullu* (i. e. *dâlu*) 'occupation, work,' is properly the inf. piel of the same stem (Talquist, o. c., p. 64; Meissner–Rost, *Bauinschr. Sanh.*, p. 107, n. 21). It is also to be noted that, in V R. 29, 34. 35g, *da'âlu* occurs as a synonym of *dalpu*, a derivative of *dalâpu* 'to march, go' (Ar. دلف). As regards the development of meaning therefore, *da'âlu* presents a close analogy to

[1] Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesestücke*[4], p 173^b.

Heb. מרגלים 'scouts, spies,' the piel participle of the denominative verb רגל 'to go about.'

(2) *ûlâ.*

In Delitzsch's *Handwörterbuch* (p. 33) this word is tentatively compared to Heb. אולי and defined as meaning 'perhaps,' an interrogation point being placed after both etymology and definition. Delitzsch's *Wörterbuch* (p. 225), his *Assyrian Grammar* (§ 82), and Muss-Arnolt's *Concise Dictionary* (p. 40) contain the same explanation, as does also Delitzsch's note in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. ii, p. 40.

ûlâ occurs quite frequently in the letter texts and means 'or, or else' (ו + א). In K. 1242 (=H. 50) the priest Aggullânu writes to the king in reference to sacrifices to be offered, and says (rev. 8–11): *allaka azzaza ina pân niqê, ûlâ annaka anâku. Mînu ša šarru iqabúni šarru bêli iqábi'u*, "Shall I go and be present at the sacrifices *or* (shall) I (remain) here. Let the king my lord say what he thinks (best)."

The letter K. 650 (=H. 128) is from Mannu-kî-Ninua to the king. In the reverse (6–10) he writes: *šumma nišê ussebila, ina muxxi šarri belî'a ušêbalášunu, ûlâ mîni šitîni ana šarri belî'a ašápara*, "If he sends these people, I will forward them to my lord the king, *or else* I will send the king full particulars (regarding them)."

In K. 653 (=H. 154) Zer-ibnî, indignant at the aspersions of a certain Marduk-erba, writes to the king (obv. 6–11): *šumma Marduk-erba siparra parzilli assákan, siparri parzilli-šu lipṭurû ina šepê'a liškunû; ûlâ ša ana šarri beliia islûni lišânšu ištu xarurtišu lišdudûni*, "If I have put Marduk-erba in fetters, let them take off his fetters and put them upon my feet; *or else* let them tear from his throat his tongue which has thus lied to my lord the king." The meaning of *siparru* would seem to be clear from the context. The word is doubtless to be derived from the same stem with *saparru* 'net,' *supûru* 'enclosure' (Del. *Handw.*, p. 509). Harper restores *li-*[*iš*]*-ṭu-ru* in line 8, but the context seems to demand *li-*[*ip*]*-ṭu-ru.*

K. 619 (=H. 174) is a letter from Marduk-šarra-uçur to the king. The writer reports that Ašpabari, king of Ellip, has had a dispute with certain individuals and tells them (obv. 13–16): *ikkanû; alânikunu pegû. šumma qarâba tuppaš, epšâ; ûlâ rammi'a*, "It is all settled; your cities are taken away. If you

want to make war, do so; or else let it alone." I have already treated this passage in vol. xx of this Journal.

In the letter 83-1-18, 41 (=H. 375) Nabû-šum-iddina writes to the king about horses. In the reverse (2–12) he says: *sîsê . . . . ša ûmu anni'u ina pân šarri beliia irrabûni' izzazû ina libbi ekal maxirti, ûlâ ûçû. šarru belu ṭêmu liškun šumma ûçû šumma lizzizû*, "Are the horses which come to the king to-day to stay in the outer palace, *or* do they go on? Let my lord the king give orders as to whether they are to go or to remain." This example is especially clear as *ûlâ* occurs here in parallelism with *šumma*, 'if, whether.'

Other passages might be cited but these will probably suffice. *Ûlâ* may be explained as a compound of *û* '*or*' and *lâ* 'not.' In Num. **22**, 33 אוּלַי, which is a compound of אוֹ and לֹא, means (like *ûlâ*) 'and if not'; it is unnecessary to read לוּלַי (LXX, καὶ εἰ μή); but it would perhaps be more correct to point this word אוּלַי. Cf. also Hos. **8**, 7.

The Polychrome Lion recently found in Babylon.—By Dr. Karl J. Grimm, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

About fifty miles south of Baghdâd, in the neighborhood of the town of Hillah on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, are the ruins of the ancient city of Babylon, a series of extensive, irregularly shaped mounds, covering from north to south a distance of about five miles. The most prominent among these mounds are Bâbîl, El-Kasr (القصر), and Tell-'Amrân-ibn-Alî.

Since Claudius James Rich, resident of the English East India Company at Baghdâd, published in 1812 his valuable memoir on the ruins of Babylon, in the *Wiener Fundgruben des Morgenlands*, these *tells* have been visited by travelers and explorers, among others by Sir Austen Henry Layard (1850), the French expedition under Fulgence Fresnel and Jules Oppert (1851–1854), Sir Henry Rawlinson, accompanied by William K. Loftus and J. E. Taylor (1849–1855), George Smith (1874), and Hormuzd Rassâm (1878–1882). But it was not until two years ago, when, in January 1899, the *Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft* sent out an expedition under the direction of Dr. Robert Koldewey, of Görlitz, assisted by the Assyriologist, Dr. Meissner, of Halle, and 'Regierungsbauführer' Andrae, that a thorough and systematic exploration was begun. Since excavations were started, on March 26th, 1899, the persevering labors of the German explorers have been crowned with signal success. Among the most interesting finds may be mentioned a stele bearing in front the image of the Hittite storm-god, and on the back a Hittite inscription;[1] and a relief representing Šamaš-reš-uçur, governor of the countries Sûkhu and Maer, in the act of worshiping the goddess Ištar and the god Adad.[2] At Kasr they have laid bare the famous *Street of Processions* called in the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar

[1] Since published by Dr. Koldewey in the *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, Leipzig, 1900. Cf. L. Messerschmidt's *Corpus Inscriptionum Hettiticarum* in vol. 5 of the *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, Berlin, 1900), p. 3, Tafel ii.

[2] Cf. *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 3, pp. 6 f.; 12 ff.

II (604–561 B. C.) *â-ebur-šâbâ*[1] (May the enemy not prevail!), which ran along the outside of the king's palace, leading from Borsippa across the Euphrates to Babylon. On the Babylonian New Year's Day (*zagmuku*)—which feast Professor Zimmern connects with the Jewish Purim festival[2]—Nabû, the god of writing and patron of agriculture and science, was carried along this broad and handsomely paved street, in a magnificent ship, to pay a visit to his father Marduk, the chief of the Babylonian pantheon, the type of the sun and the symbol of spring.[3] At Tell-'Amrân-ibn-Alî the German archæologists have identified the famous temple of Marduk, *Esagila* (the house whose summit towers on high), and cleared out several of its chambers.[4]

The following important landmarks of ancient Babylon are now fixed points: *E-max* (the great house), the temple of the goddess Nin-max (the great Lady=Ištar), the goddess of fecundity and the mythical mother of Nebuchadnezzar;[5] *Esagila; Imgur-Bel* (Bel has taken pity), the great wall of Babylon;[6] and the *Street of Processions.* Inscriptions that have been found *in situ* place these identifications beyond question. To quote here only one of the inscriptions upon the stones of the pavement of the *Â-ebur-šâbâ:*

[1] *Nabû-kudurri-uçur šar* TIN-TIR^{ki}
[2] *mâr Nabû-apal-uçur šar* TIN-TIR^{ki} *anâku.*
[3] *Sulâ Bâbili*^{ki} *ana šadâxa beli rabî Marduk*
[4] *ina libitti aban šadî ubannâ*
[5] *tallakti Marduk bel balaṭa*^{m} *dârâ*
[6] *šurqa*^{m}

i. e. "Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, son of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon, am I. The street of Babylon I have built for

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[1] Cf. Schrader's *Keilinschriftl. Bibliothek*, 3, 2, p. 21, col. v, l. 45, and Delitzsch's *Assyr. Handwörterbuch*, pp. 9^{b} and 637^{a}.

[2] ZAT. 11, 160; contrast Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston, 1898), p. 686, n. 2. See also Wildeboer's commentary on Esther (in Marti's *Hand-Commentar zum AT.*), p. 173. It might be well to state in this connection that Assyr. *puxru* was compared with Syr. ܦܘܪܫܐ eighteen years ago in Lyon's *Keilschrifttexte Sargon's* (Leipzig, 1883), p. 64, n. on l. 31.

[3] Cf. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 127, 679.

[4] Cf. *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 5, 6 f.; 6, 13.

[5] Cf. *Mitth.*, 4, pp. 4 f.

[6] Cf. *Mitth.*, 4, pp. 12, 14; 6, p. 12.

the procession in honor of the great Lord, Marduk, with stones of the mountains. O Lord Marduk, grant eternal life.'

But the unremitting labors of the German explorers have not only been fruitful for the elucidation of history and religion. Students of the history of art, likewise, owe a debt of gratitude to the indefatigable perseverance of Dr. Koldewey and Herr Andrae for their admirable reconstruction, from hundreds of fragments of glazed tiles, of the *Lion of Babylon.*

Babylonia is the fatherland of the enameler. In Assyrian palaces enameled bricks seem to have been sparingly used. They seem to have been placed chiefly upon doorways, and, in the form of rosettes, at the springing of the battlements.[2] The Babylonians, however, favored by the clayey earth of the Chaldean alluvium, were not satisfied with the making of enameled bricks, but developed a new branch of decorative art. Polychromatic figures and motives were modeled in relief upon the ground, thus distinguishing them by a gentle salience as well as by color, and, at the same time, increasing both their solidity and effect. In this manner the Babylonians made up for their lack of monumental works of sculpture which was due to the difficulty of obtaining suitable material.

The Greek historian and physician at the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon (405–361 B. C.), Ctesias, who lived for a time at Babylon, thus describes the palace on the right bank of the Euphrates: In the interior of the first line of circumvallation Semiramis constructed another on a circular plan, upon which were all kinds of animals whose images were impressed on the brick while still unburnt. Nature is imitated in these figures by the use of colors.[3]

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[1] Cf. *Mitth.* 6, pp. 5 ff.

[2] Cf. Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldea and Susiana*, London, 1857, p. 397, n.; Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Chaldea and Assyria* (London, 1884), 1, 282.

[3] *Καθ' ὧν ἐν ὠμαῖς ἔτι ταῖς πλίνθοις διετετύπωτο θηρία, παντοδαπὰ τῇ τῶν χρωμάτων φιλοτεχνίᾳ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀπομιμούμενα, Diod.* ii. 8, 4. These words of Diodorus give us a false conception of the painted decoration. The artist did not intend to imitate the real colors of nature. "The lions and bulls of the friezes had, no doubt, their effect, but yet our intelligence receives some little shock in finding them deprived of their true colors, and presented to our eyes in a kind of travesty of their real selves. Things used as ornaments have no inalienable color of their own; the decorative artist is free to twist his lines and vary his tints as he pleases; his work will be judged by the result, and as long as that is harmonious and pleasing to the eye nothing more is required." Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Chaldea and Assyria*, 2, pp. 296 f.

. . . . The third wall, that in the middle, was twenty stadia round . . . On its towers and their curtain-walls every sort of animal might be seen depicted according to all the rules of art, both as to form and color.[1] The whole represented a chase of various animals, these being more than four cubits high (i. e. about seven feet).[2] In the middle was Semiramis shooting an arrow at a panther, and, on one side, her husband Ninus at close quarters with a lion, which he transfixes with his lance." Diodorus Siculus, to whom we owe this description of Ctesias, attributes all these buildings to Semiramis, but it was the palace of Nebuchadnezzar II that Ctesias had before him.

During the years 1851–1854 the French expedition under Fulgence Fresnel and Jules Oppert collected on Tell Kasr, especially on its eastern side, a great many fragments of colored tiles. Yellow scales, separated from one another by black lines, reminded Oppert of the conventional figures by which the Assyrians represented hills, mountains, and forests. On others he saw blue undulations signifying water; on others, again, he found trees. Another class of enameled tiles represented figures of animals, the foot of a horse, and parts of a lion, especially the mane and the tail. A thick black line upon a blue ground may have been the lance of a hunter. Upon one fragment a human eye, looking full to the front, might be recognized.[3] Unfortunately this interesting collection did not reach its destination. Together with the valuable antiquities collected by Victor Place, who had stripped the archway of the palace of Sargon in order to enrich his own country with the spoils of the great Assyrian king, it perished by accident in the floods of the Tigris (1855). At any rate, the description of Oppert confirms the narrative of Diodorus to which we have referred above.[4] It must, however, be mentioned that Dr. Koldewey so far has seen nothing which could be regarded as representing mountains, trees, or water.[5]

[1] *Ἐνῆσαν δὲ ἐν τοῖς πύργοις καὶ τείχεσι ζῷα παντοδαπὰ φιλοτέχνως τοῖς τε χρώμασι καὶ τοῖς τῶν τύπων ἀπομιμήμασι κατασκευασμένα,* Diod. ii. 8, 6.

[2] See the Notes on Ezekiel in *The Polychrome Bible*, p. 180. Professor Haupt has pointed out that the Table of Showbread was according to Ex. 25, 23, 2 cubits long, 1 cubit wide, and 1½ cubits high, and that, if the Hebrew cubit = 21 inches, 1½ cubits would be equal to 31½ inches, which is the normal height of a table. Cf. Crit. Notes on Numbers (in *The Polychrome Bible*, p. 66, ll. 2 ff.

[3] Oppert, *Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie* (Paris, 1863), pp. 143 f.

[4] Cf. also *Mitth.*, 2, p. 4.

[5] Cf. *Mitth.*, 3, p. 5.

But when Nebuchadnezzar mentions in his inscriptions the pictures of wild bulls and gigantic serpents adorning the gates, he can only refer, it would seem, to such colored brick or tile-reliefs.

Nothing more definite, however, about this art, the technic employed, its effect upon the spectator, and the like, could hitherto be learned in Babylonia itself.

In Assyria the palace walls were covered with a colored facing, shown by fragments found among the ruins to have been painted stucco[1] and glazed tile. It consisted of bands of ornament, rows of rosettes and anthemia, woven strap-work, conventionalized mythical animals, and other forms in set regularity.[2] Animals, especially lions, are given in yellow upon a blue ground.[3] The largest and most important of the fragments preserved, found by Layard at Nimrud,[4] shows a king who, returning from battle or the hunt, is about to place to his lips a bowl handed to him by a servant [according to another view he offers a drink-offering]. The bow which he holds in his left hand rests upon the earth. Behind him follow two servants, a eunuch with bow, quiver, and sword, and a warrior in short dress, with lance and pointed helmet. The garments are outlined by a broad band of yellow, thus increasing the impression of flat stiffness peculiar to the Assyrian costumes of baggy cloth without folds. A dark yellow border separates the green dress from the red background and the brownish color of the exposed flesh. White intermingles with yellow in the rosettes, fringes, swords, etc. The hair, beard, pupils of the eyes, and the sandals are black. Other fragments, published by Layard, have a green background, yellow flesh, blue garments, blue fishes, etc, all drawn with a heavy white, or, in

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[1] On Assyrian painting see Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Chaldea and Assyria*, 2, pp. 292 ff.; compare also on Assyrian and Babylonian art, Woltmann-Woermann, *Gesch. d. Malerei*, 1 (Leipzig, 1879), pp. 22 ff.; Semper, *Der Stil*[2] (München, 1878), §§ 67, 69–71 (pp. 250 ff.; 302 ff.), and the respective chapters in Lübke's *Gesch. d. Plastik*, Schnaase's *Gesch. d. bildenden Künste*, Reber's *Kunstgesch. d. Alterthums*. Cf. also Reber's remarks in ZA., 1, 157–160; 295–303.

[2] Cf. Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh* (London, 1849), first series, pl. 80.

[3] Cf. Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie* (Paris, 1866–1869), plates 29, 30, 31. Of all the animal forms, that of the lion seems to have been the first to yield material for decorative composition of any value, and even at the present day the lion has not lost its popularity in the East. Cf. Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Chaldea and Assyria*, 1, 262.

[4] Cf. Layard, *Monuments*, second series, pl. 55.

rare instances, brown outline. In some of the bas-reliefs found by Botta at Khorsabâd [1] red and blue alternate in the sandals of the figures, and in the harness of the horses. We find also a red bow and a blue quiver.[2]

But it was at Susa, the residence of the Achæmenians, that the whole splendor of this art was revealed, when Dieulafoy unearthed the famous lion-frieze which decorated the crowning of the propylæa (called *Apadâna*)[3] rising in front of the palace of Darius and Xerxes.[4] We see here, surrounded by palmettos, marguerites and similar motives, nine walking lions. "The powerful head, the thickness of the mane, the salience of the shoulder-blades and the principal muscles, every detail is distinctly marked by bold modeling, and this is further emphasized by contrast of color." These finds of Dieulafoy, more or less restored, have, since 1891, found their place in the Louvre at Paris. A fine reproduction of part of the frieze may be seen in the Metropolitan Museum at New York.[5]

Did the art of the Babylonian artists surpass that of their pupils, the Persians? And, if so, in what measure? To these questions the *Lion of Babylon* gives us the answer.[6] Completely and exclusively restored from head to tail from the genuine pieces,[7] it teaches indisputably that the artists of Nebuchadnezzar, at least as far as the representation of the lion is concerned, were true masters of their art. If on the Susian lion-frieze the head and the front of the lion appear too small, this cannot be

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[1] Cf. Botta, *Monument de Ninive* (Paris, 1847–1850), plates 12. 14. 43. 53. 61. 62. 63. 65. 74. 76. 81. 110. 111. 113. 114. 146. 155. 156.

[2] On Assyrian polychromy see Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Chaldea and Assyria*, 2, 243 ff.; and on the chemical composition of the various colors employed, *ibid.*, pp. 294 ff.; cf. Reber's remarks in ZA., 1, 297–299.

[3] Cf. Bezold, *Die Achämeniden-Inschriften* (Leipzig, 1883), p. 44, No. xvii, l. 8; Weissbach, *Die Achämeniden-Inschriften zweiter Art* (Leipzig, 1890), p. 84, No. iv.

[4] Cf. Dieulafoy, *A Suse. Journal des Fouilles* (Paris, 1884–1886), pp. 132, 133.

[5] Cf. also Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Ancient Persia* (1892), p. 420 f.

[6] The following description is based upon an exact polychrome reproduction of the lion by Herr Andrae, published by the *Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft*, and reproduced in the *American Magazine Supplement to the New York Journal and Advertiser*, Sunday, April 21, 1901, p. 9.

[7] Cf. *Mitth.*, 3, p. 11, and the description of the lion-frieze by Prof. Delitzsch, *Mitth.* 6, pp. 13 ff.

said of the lion of Babylon. The hair of the mane and the tuft of the tail are executed, it is true, in a conventional manner, but in all other respects the animal is conceived with unusual life and naturalness. With this strong feeling for reality we find combined perfection of form. The naturalness of the work and its uniform execution give evidence of an intellectual and clear mind, and call forth a lively interest, both for the manner in which the artist extricated himself from the ban of conventional laws and for the ingenuity with which he accommodated himself to them.

The lion, as reconstructed by Koldewey and Andrae, is portrayed in its natural size, 1.95m. from the end of the forepaw to the end of the tail, and 90cm. from the top of the head to the sole of the forepaw. It is marching to the left. The bushy mane and the tuft of the tail are colored in a lustrous yellow, the locks being separated from one another by black lines; the smooth parts of the skin—back, head, legs, and tail—are white; tongue and eye yellow; eyelids and pupil black. The background is turquoise-blue. White rosettes, with orange centers, against a dark blue ground adorn the border.

A number of such lions in tile-relief appear to have formed a large frieze. Two types of lions have been found.[1] One represents a lion marching to the left—of this there must have been at least fifteen specimens—while another exhibits a lion marching to the right. Each of these types, again, occurs in two different colorings: either with a white skin and yellow mane, or with a yellow skin and a green mane; the latter being rarer than the former. Moreover, small variations exist between representatives of the same type, especially as regards the tail which in some cases presents more of a curve than in others.

The palette of the Babylonian enameler, it will be noticed, appears to have been very restricted. Compared with the Assyrian paintings, however, the walls of Babylon shone with a deeper, brighter, and more highly colored lustre than those of Nineveh.

As to the position of the frieze, Dr. Koldewey believes that the lions marching to the left had their place on the western side of the outer wall, and those marching to the right on the eastern side of the inner wall, of the *Street of Processions*. The entire series of animals was thus marching on both sides of the street toward the north.[2]

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[1] *Cf. Mitth.*, 3, p. 10.

[2] *Cf. Mitth.*, 3, p. 11.

For the composition of one of these polychrome enamel reliefs a great many units were required. In order to preserve its fidelity, these separate pieces not only had to coincide exactly, but had also to be fixed and fitted with extreme nicety. Bitumen appears to have been used for the purpose of attaching them to the wall. To fit all the squares into their proper places, numbers, which have been noticed upon the uncovered faces of the crude brick walls, seem to have served for the guidance of the workmen.[1] But the proper distribution of a figure over the bricks or tiles of which it was composed, required still greater skill. To prevent any mistake, it is supposed, the artist took a large plate of soft clay, and modeled upon its surface the entire drawing in relief. Then he cut the plate into squares of the ordinary size of a brick or a tile, and marked each square with a number. These marks have been recognized upon many fragments found at Babylon by the architect Félix Thomas, who accompanied the expedition under Fresnel and Oppert.[2] The pigment and varnish were laid separately on each brick or tile, which was then put into the kiln and fired at an extraordinarily high temperature, till the enamel became almost like glass. At the same time the uniformity with which the various figures ever recur, constrains us to assume that the artists made use of molds.[3]

In this manner was composed the decoration of the buildings of Nebuchadnezzar and of Babylon, the splendor of which so impressed the imagination and provoked the anger of the Jewish prophets. It is to paintings of this kind that Ezekiel alludes[4] when he rebukes Jerusalem, under the name of Aholibah, for its infidelity and its adoption of foreign superstitions: She saw men portrayed on walls, figures of Chaldeans portrayed in vermilion, their loins girded with sashes, their heads adorned with fillets, looking all of them like captains, portraits of Babylonians,—Chaldea was the land of their nativity.[5]

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[1] Cf. Place, *Ninive*, 1, p. 253.

[2] Cf. *Expéd. scient.*, 1, pp. 143 f.; Place, *Ninive*, 2, p. 253; *Mitth.*, 3, p. 10. Loftus also has copied and published a number of marks of the same kind which he had found upon glazed bricks from the palace of Susa (*Travels and Researches*, p. 398).

[3] Cf. Koldewey in the *Mitth.*, 3, p. 5; Delitzsch, *Mitth.*, 6, p. 16.

[4] Semper (*Der Stil*, 1, p. 54) holds that the words of Ezekiel refer to tapestry; cf. Reber in ZA., 1, 290 ff.

[5] Professor Toy's translation of Ezekiel 23, 14, 15 in *The Polychrome Bible* (New York, 1899).

The Meaning and Etymology of the Word תּוּשִׁיָּה *in the Old Testament.*—By Dr. Karl J. Grimm, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

The Hebrew word תּוּשִׁיָּה, although found only in twelve passages of the Old Testament, is interpreted by the various translators and commentators in more than a dozen different ways. In Job 6, 13, for instance, the Authorized Version, following the Targum, translates it, 'wisdom.' The Septuagint renders it by *βοήθεια*, 'help,' while the Peshita has ܦܘܪܩܢܐ, '*redemptio*,' and the Vulgate, '*necessarii mei*.' Luther translates 'ability' (*Vermögen*); Schultens '*solida ratio*'; J. D. Michaelis '*solatium*'; de Wette, Hirzel, Stickel, Vaihinger, Hahn, Studer, Reuss, 'deliverance' (*Rettung*); Ewald, Schlottmann, Fürst, and Volck, 'welfare, salvation' (*Heil*). Welte, Siegfried–Stade, and Dillmann explain it to mean 'wise or reasonable counsel' (*weiser Rath, vernünftiger Rath*). Franz Delitzsch renders it, 'stability' (*Bestand*); similarly Duhm in his commentary on Job (in Marti). Hengstenberg regards 'insight' (*Einsicht*) as the only proper rendering of the word. Matthes translates it 'guidance' (*Geleit*); Merx, 'being, essence' (*Wesenhaftes*); Hitzig, 'health' (*Gesundheit*); the Revised Version, 'effectual working'; Georg Hoffmann and Baethgen, 'expedient' (*Ausweg*); Bickell, 'hope' (*Hoffnung*); Kautzsch, and Duhm, 'hold' (*Halt*); Budde, 'happiness' (*Glück*); Gesenius–Buhl, 'help' (*Hilfe*).[1]

A careful examination of the passages where תושיה occurs, appears to show, however, that the original signification of the

[1] Cf. Schultens, *Liber Jobi*, 1737; J. D. Michaelis, *Supplementorum ad Lexica Hebr. Pars iv*, Gött., 1787, pp. 1167 f.; de Wette, *Heilige Schrift*, 3d ed., 1839; Hirzel, *Hiob erklärt*, 1839; Stickel, *D. Buch Hiob*, 1842; Vaihinger, *D. Buch Hiob*, 1842; Welte, *D. Buch Job*, 1849; Hahn, *Comment. über d. Buch Hiob*, 1850; Schlottmann, *D. Buch Hiob*, 1851; Ewald, *D. Buch Hiob*, 1854; Delitzsch, *D. Buch Hiob*, 1864; Matthes, *Het Boek Job*, 1865; Hengstenberg, *D. Buch Hiob*, 1870; Merx, *Hiob*, 1871; Fürst, *Heil. Schrift*, 1874; Hitzig, *D. Buch Hiob*, 1874; Studer, *D. Buch Hiob*, 1881; Reuss, *Hiob*, 1888; Volck, *Hiob*, 1889; Dillmann, *Hiob*, 1891; Bickell, *Job*, 1894; Kautzsch, *Altes Test.*, 1894; Budde, *Job*, in the Nowack series, 1896; Duhm, *Job*, in Marti, 1897; *D. Buch Hiob übers.*, 1897; Baethgen, *Hiob*, 1898.

word is 'prop, support.' Subsequently it came to mean 'help' in general, and, by a slight modification, 'success, power, source of help, reliability,' as was suggested by Professor Haupt during the interpretation of the Book of Proverbs in the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University.

In Job 30, 21 f. Job, lamenting the terrible progress of his disease, cries out to God:

תֵּהָפֵךְ לְאַכְזָר לִי בְּעֹצֶם יָדְךָ תִּשְׂטְמֵנִי
תִּשָּׂאֵנִי אֶל-רוּחַ תַּרְכִּיבֵנִי וּתְמוֹגְגֵנִי תֻּשִׁיָּה (Qerê):

"Thou art become cruel to me, Thy strong arm is raised in enmity against me;
Thou liftest me up to the wind, Thou makest me ride on, and
תְּמוֹגְגֵנִי תֻּשִׁיָּה"

which the Authorized Version renders: "Thou dissolvest my substance" (in the margin, 'wisdom'). The Vulgate paraphrases: "*elevasti me, et quasi super ventum ponens elisisti me valide.*" Many commentators, however, including Hirzel, Ewald, Olshausen, Delitzsch, Matthes, Volck, Dillmann, Hoffmann, Budde, and Baethgen, follow here the reading of the Kethîb תְּשׁוֹאֲה=תֻּשִׁיָּה "Thou hast caused me to melt away in the roar of the storm." The wind, however, as has been remarked by Siegfried in *The Polychrome Bible*, has rather the effect of drying up. Hitzig reads תְּשַׁוֶּה "Thou makest me level" = "Thou dost lay me prostrate." Merx conjectures תְּשַׁדֵּנִי "Thou dost destroy me." König in his *Lehrgebäude* I, 592 f., תִּשְׁוָה 'agitation, restlessness.' But the most natural emendation is suggested by the Greek Version, *ἀπέῤῥψάς με ἀπὸ σωτηρίας*,[1] which points to מִתּוּשִׁיָּה (so Duhm). We should, therefore, translate: "Thou allowest me to totter without support,' like a tree without a prop in the storm. Compare the German expression *zum Spielball des Windes machen.* To emend, with Siegfried in *The Polychrome Bible*, תִּשּׁוּעָה, is not necessary. Here תושיה has still the meaning of 'prop, support,' like the Assyrian *asîtu*, 'prop, pillar.' From this concrete signification the general meaning 'help' is derived.

[1] Cf. on this reading, G. Beer, *Text d. Buches Hiob*, Marburg, 1895–97, p. 196.

A clear instance of the use of תושיה in the sense of 'help' is met with in Prov. 2, 7. It seems necessary in this passage to transpose the received text.[1] Reading v. 8[b] after v. 7[a], and v. 8[a] after v. 7[b] we have the following *mashal:*

6 כִּי יהוה יִתֵּן חָכְמָה מִפִּיו דַּעַת וּתְבוּנָה

7[a] וְצָפַן[2] לַיְשָׁרִים תּוּשִׁיָּה 8[b] וְדֶרֶךְ חֲסִידָיו[3] יִשְׁמֹר

7[b] מָגֵן לְהֹלְכֵי תֹם 8[a] לְנָצֹר[4] אָרְחוֹת מִשְׁפָּט

'Jhvh gives wisdom, out of His mouth come knowledge and discernment,

He has in store תושיה (help) for the upright, and protects the way of the pious.

A shield to those who walk in integrity, He guards the path of equity."

The rendering of תושיה by 'help' appears to agree best with the context, as has been recognized by Clement of Alexandria who translates it by *βοήθεια*. In the same way it is rendered by the Targum. The Septuagint has *σωτηρία*, and the Vulgate *salus*, which is followed by most modern exegetes.

With the same signification תושיה is used in Job 12, 16: עִמּוֹ עֹז וְתוּשִׁיָּה, "With Him is protection and help." Here תושיה is generally rendered 'wisdom, knowledge,' and the like, —so the Targum, Vulgate, the Authorized Version, de Wette, Hirzel, Stickel, Vaihinger, Welte, Schlottmann, Matthes, Fürst, Hitzig, Studer, Reuss, Volck, Dillmann, Siegfried–Stade, Hoffmann, Budde, Baethgen, Gesenius–Buhl, and others. This view has been rightly rejected by Duhm, but his own rendering 'stability' (*Bestand*) is hardly more satisfactory. The Greek Bible has *ἰσχύς*, 'power,' the Revised Version 'effectual working.' But a description of God's omniscience and omnipotence has been given in the preceding verses, especially in v. 13. In verse 16, however, Job introduces a new argument, in reply to the words of Zophar, ch. 11, 13 ff.: You tell me that there is hope of deliverance if I should turn to God in penitence? that only for the wicked there is no escape? Yes, Job replies in bitter irony,

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[1] Cf. Critical Notes on Proverbs, in *The Polychrome Bible*, p. 35, l. 35.

[2] So Kethîb. [3] So Qerê.

[4] According to Professor Haupt we have here the emphatic particle לְ. Cf. *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, July, 1894, p. 107 f.; *Critical Notes on Proverbs* in SBOT., p. 52, l. 11.

עִמּוֹ עֹז וְתוּשִׁיָּה לוֹ שֹׁגֶה וּמַשְׁגֶּה

"With Him is protection and help,—His are the deceived and the deceiver."

i. e. they are all alike to him. Theodotion renders here *σωτηρία*, and the Syriac version, ܦܘܪܩܢܐ.

תושיה is further met with in verse 29, of the didactic poem, Isa. 28, 23 ff. As ploughing, says the writer, does not go on all through the year, nor is everything threshed with the same force, so Jhvh varies His procedure according to circumstances, and according to the character of those with whom He deals. The ploughers and threshers, i. e. the Babylonians or Persians, will not be allowed to treat Israel as they have treated other nations. For Israel there is a future and a hope:

גַּם־זֹאת מֵעִם יהוה[1] יָצָאָה
הִפְלִא עֵצָה הִגְדִּיל תּוּשִׁיָּה׃

"This also from Jhvh proceeds,
Wonderful in council, great in help."

This rendering, proposed as early as 1779 by J. D. Michaelis in his *Deutsche Übers. d. Alt. Test. mit Anmerk. f. Ungelehrte*, 8, 1, p. 50, agrees much better with the context of the passage than the explanation of Hitzig, Delitzsch, Dillmann, Siegfried–Stade, Duhm, Kautzsch, Kittel, Cheyne,[2] and others: "Wonderful counsel, great wisdom has He." The parallelism is not synonymous, but synthetic.

Job 5, 12 תושיה is best rendered 'success.' So rightly Vaihinger, Hitzig, Studer, Reuss, Volck, Baethgen. Eliphaz advises Job to turn to God, and to commit his cause to Him,

מֵפֵר מַחְשְׁבוֹת עֲרוּמִּים וְלֹא־תַעֲשֶׂינָה יְדֵיהֶם תּוּשִׁיָּה

"Who frustrates the devices of the crafty, that their hands accomplish no success."

He does not give them any assistance, so that their schemes miscarry.

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[1] The Masoretic text adds צְבָאוֹת.

[2] Hitzig, *D. Proph. Jesaia*, 1833, ad loc.; Delitzsch, *Jesaia*, 1866, 3d ed. 1879, ad loc.; Dillmann, *Jesaia*, 1891, ad loc.; Duhm, *Jesaia*, 1892 ad loc.; Kautzsch, *Alt. Test.*; Dillmann–Kittel, *Jesaia*, 1898, ad loc.: Cheyne, *Isaiah*, in *The Polychrome Bible*, 1898, p. 29.

Success engenders power. This meaning may preferably be assumed for Prov. 8, 14; 18,1. Prov. 8, 14 we read:

לִי עֵצָה וְתוּשִׁיָּה אֲנִי בִינָה לִי גְבוּרָה׃

This verse is usually translated: "Mine is counsel and sound wisdom (תושיה), I am understanding, I have strength." Delitzsch and Frankenberg render תושיה by *Förderung;* Toy, by 'skill.'[1] But as עֵצָה 'counsel,' stands in parallelism to בִּינָה, 'understanding,' we expect the same relation to exist between תּוּשִׁיָּה and גְּבוּרָה, 'strength.' We should, therefore, translate: "With me is counsel and power, with me[2] understanding and strength."

Similarly in Prov. 18, 1 where we read:

לְתַאֲוָה יְבַקֵּשׁ נִפְרָד בְּכָל־תּוּשִׁיָּה יִתְגַּלָּע׃

"One who separates himself seeks desire, he rages against all reason."

This is the general rendering of the aphorism which is supposed to mean that one who holds himself aloof from friends or from society, follows his own selfishness, and opposes everything reasonable. But this observation, as Professor Toy rightly remarks in his commentary on the passage, does not accord with the tone of the Proverbs. We gain a better sense if, on the basis of the Septuagint, followed by the Vulgate, *προφάσεις ζητεῖ ἀνὴρ βουλόμενος χωρίζεσθαι ἀπὸ φίλων,* we read, with Hitzig,[3] and Frankenberg, לְתַאֲנָה[4] instead of the Masoretic לְתַאֲוָה, and translate the whole verse as follows:

"The estranged friend seeks an opportunity (of quarrel), seeks בכל־תושיה (with all his power) to stir up strife."

In Job 6, 13 we have תושיה with the meaning 'source of help.' We read:

הֲאִם[5] אֵין עֶזְרָתִי בּוֹ[6] וְתֻשִׁיָּה נִדְּחָה מִמֶּנִּי׃

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[1] Cf. Delitzsch, *D. Salomonische Spruchbuch*, 1873, ad loc.; Frankenberg, *Proverbs* in the Nowack series, 1898, ad loc.; Toy, *Proverbs*, 1899, ad loc.

[2] Read לי אני or simply לי; cf. Crit. Notes on Proverbs in *The Polychrome Bible*, p. 41, l. 28.

[3] Hitzig, *D. Sprüche Salomo's*, 1858, ad loc.

[4] Cf. Moore, *Judges*, ad 14, 4 (pp. 328 f.).

[5] The Peshita reads הֲנָה(=הֵן).

[6] *Sic*, following the LXX.; the Masor. text has בִּי.

The translation of the Authorized Version, "Is not my help in me? and is my wisdom (תּוּשִׁיָּה) driven quite from me?", entirely misses the sense of the passage. Job, replying to his friend Eliphaz, justifies his despair. The good man is never allowed to perish, you say, but how much longer can a body of flesh hold out? If God would be my friend, the only favor I crave is that He would shorten my agony and let me die. But no, I have no help to expect from Him, הַאִם אֵין עֶזְרָתִי בּוֹ, and, he continues, "תּוּשִׁיָּה is quite driven from me." Here תּוּשִׁיָּה stands in parallelism to עֶזְרָה, 'help.' In this sense the word has been understood by the Septuagint, which renders it by *βοήθεια;* the Peshita translates ܦܘܪܩܢܐ.[1] The interpretation of תּוּשִׁיָּה by 'source of help' appears to fit the context best.

Finally we have a few passages where תּוּשִׁיָּה apparently designates the object which serves as a support, on what you may rely, hence 'reliability.'

Such seems to be the meaning of the word in Job 26, 3:

מַה־יָּעַצְתָּ לְלֹא־כֹחַ הוֹשַׁעְתָּ זְרוֹעַ לֹא־עֹז
מַה־יָּעַצְתָּ לְלֹא חָכְמָה וְתֻשִׁיָּה לָרֹב הוֹדַעְתָּ׃

"How hast thou helped him that is without power, and supported
the arm that is without strength.
How hast thou counseled him that has no wisdom, and made
known to him abundantly תּוּשִׁיָּה (on what he can rely)."

In the sense of 'reliability' the word occurs in Prov. 3, 21. We must here transpose, with Umbreit in his commentary on *Proverbs* (Heidelberg, 1826), the two clauses of the aphorism, and read:

בְּנִי נְצֹר תּוּשִׁיָּה וּמְזִמָּה אַל יָלֻזוּ מֵעֵינֶיךָ׃

"My son, observe תּוּשִׁיָּה (reliability) and discretion, let them
not depart from thy sight."

that is to say, Try to be circumspect and discreet; keep on safe ground, do not engage in any wild schemes, neither act without a definite plan; if you want to accomplish an object, observe the proper precautionary measures and devise ways and means for the carrying out of your project. The rendering of Frankenberg, "Observe welfare (*Heil*) and prudent reflection" is unintelligible.

[1] To suppose, with Beer (*Text d. Buches Ḥiob*, ad loc.) and Budde (*Job* in the Nowack series), that the Greek and Syriac versions read תְּשׁוּעָה, is not necessary.

Similarly in Job 11, 6 תושיה is best rendered by 'reliability.' Zophar replies to Job's protest of innocence:

וְאוּלָם מִי־יִתֵּן אֱלוֹהַּ דַּבֵּר וְיִפְתַּח שְׂפָתָיו עִמָּךְ
וְיַגֶּד־לְךָ תַּעֲלֻמוֹת חָכְמָה כִּי־כִפְלַיִם לְתוּשִׁיָּה
וְדַע כִּי יַשֶּׁא לְךָ אֱלוֹהַּ מֵעֲוֹנֶךָ׃

"If God would only speak, and open His lips against thee,
And reveal to thee the hidden depths of wisdom, כי כפלים לתושיה
Then wouldst thou know that God overlooks yet part of thy guilt."

What is the meaning of כי כפלים לתושיה? The interpretations which have been proposed are all alike more or less artificial. The Septuagint reads ὅτι διπλοῦς ἔσται τῶν κατὰ σέ, the Vulgate, *ut ostenderet tibi secreta sapientiae et quod multiplex esset lex eius.* The Targum and the Peshita, followed by many modern exegetes, render it by 'wisdom.' The Authorized Version has: "And that He would show thee the secrets of wisdom that they are double to that which is"—whatever this may mean. Ewald, de Wette, Hirzel, and others: "How doubly strong they are in insight." Merx: "for like miracles they are in being" (*denn wie die Wunder sind sie in dem Wesen*), reading כִּפְלָאִים instead of כפלים, which emendation is adopted by Bickell, Duhm, and Baethgen. Bickell translates *die wunderbar der Einsicht;* Duhm, *Wunder an Vernunft;* Baethgen, *Wunder der Vernunft.* Georg Hoffmann renders: "to show thee that the secrets of His wisdom doubly surpass reason." But it seems best to regard the words, with Siegfried in *The Polychrome Bible*, as a marginal gloss which has crept into the text. It apparently is the note of an orthodox Jew indicating his agreement with Zophar: If God would speak, indeed, it would be a reliable oracle, a *širu takiltu*,[1] the term which Esarhaddon uses in reference to the encouraging oracle he received when about to march against his father's murderers.

There remains but one passage for our discussion, *viz.*, Mic. 6, 9. As the Masoretic text reads, קוֹל יְהוָה לָעִיר יִקְרָא וְתוּשִׁיָּה

[1] Syn. *annu kenu*; cf. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion* (Leipzig, 1900), p. 88, n. 4; p. 89, no. 2.

יִרְאֶה שְׁמֶךָ, it is void of proper sense.[1] The usual interpretation gives us the following: "The voice of JHVH cries to the city, and wisdom regards Thy name." The Authorized Version renders: "The Lord's voice crieth unto the city, and the man of wisdom shall see thy name," and in the margin, "thy name shall see that which is." Hitzig, Wellhausen, and Nowack[2] emend שְׁמוֹ 'His name,' instead of שְׁמֶךָ 'Thy name,' "it is wisdom to fear His name." Kautzsch, following Roorda,[3] conjectures וְתוּשִׁיָּה יִרְאֵי שְׁמוֹ שָׁמְעוּ, *Heilsames vernehmen die, die seinen Namen fürchten.* But it seems better to follow the reading of the Septuagint, *σώσει φοβουμένους τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ* = יוֹשִׁיעַ יִרְאֵי שְׁמוֹ, "He will rescue those that fear His name." The words most probably are a later insertion[4] for the purpose of mitigating the threats of severe punishment which follow.

A detailed investigation of all the passages where תושיה occurs thus reveals the fact that it signifies 'support,' then 'help, success, power, source of help, reliability.' This development of meaning is an exact parallel to that which we see in the Assyrian *tukultu* (from *takâlu*), 'support, help, power, reliability.'

As regards the etymology of תושיה, many scholars, including Ibn Ezra, Qamchi, Schultens,[5] Hirzel, Schlottmann, Merx, Wildeboer,[6] Budde, Duhm, and Gesenius–Buhl, derive the word from a stem ישה, and connect it with Hebrew יֵשׁ, 'existence,' and Assyrian *išû*, 'to have.' But Hebrew יֵשׁ and Assyrian *išû* go back to a stem with an initial *ʾîôd originarium.*[7] It seems most improbable that a noun *tûšîʾâh*, with *û* in the first syllable, could be derived from such a stem, especially as there are no other analogies.

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[1] Cf. on the text, Ryssel, *Textgestalt und Echtheit d. B. Micha*, Leipzig, 1887, pp. 101 ff.

[2] Cf. Hitzig, *D. 12 Kleinen Proph.*, 4th ed., 1881, ad loc.; Wellhausen, *D. Kleinen Propheten*, ad loc.; Nowack, *D. Kleinen Proph.*, 1897, ad loc.

[3] *Comment. in Vaticinium Michæ*, 1869, ad loc.

[4] This was recognized by Hartmann in his commentary on *Micah*, 1800.

[5] *Liber Jobi*, 1737, ad Job 5, 12.

[6] *D. Sprüche*, 1897, ad Prov. 2, 7. Cf. also Toy, *Proverbs*, ad Prov. 2, 7.

[7] Cf. Haupt, *Die sumerischen Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879) p. 21, n. 1. For the original identity of יֵשׁ and the *nota accusativi* אֵת, see Crit. Notes on Proverbs in *The Polychrome Bible*, p. 51, l. 6.

Franz Delitzsch at first supposed תושיה to be a formation from the Hoph'al with the signification of 'reality' (*Wirklichkeit*) as opposed to 'mere appearance' (*blosser Schein*),[1] but in his commentary on *Proverbs*, published in 1873, p. 61 f., he rejects this view as unsatisfactory, and, following Fleischer, connects it with the Arabic آسى or واسى 'to further.'[2] In his commentary on Isaiah, 3d ed., 1879, again, he presents as possible both a derivation from a Qal ושה, '*subsistere*,'[3] and from the Hiph'îl הושה, 'to enable,' which implies, however, a change of an *ô* into an *û*. This change Delitzsch leaves unexplained. J. Barth in his *Nominalbildung d. semit. Sprachen*, 1889, § 189e, regards the word as a form *taqtilat* from ישה (= Assyr. *išû*). But, as stated above, ישה = Assyr. *išû* is a verb with an initial *ʾôd originarium*, and even if it went back to a stem פ"י, it would still be hard to see how Barth's *tôšîʾâh* could become *tûšîʾâh*. In his *Etymologische Studien*, 1893, p. 66 f., he abandoned this idea, and practically revived the opinion of Hitzig, tracing תושיה back to a stem שוה, which by transposition became ושה. This view was refuted as early as 1873 by Delitzsch in his commentary on *Proverbs*, *l. s. c.* Dillmann, ad Job 5, 12, and Frankenberg, *Prov.*, p. 26, pronounce a *non liquet* as to the etymology of תושיה. So pessimistic a view, however, seems not to be justified. J. D. Michaelis appears to have made a step in the right direction when in his *Supplement. ad Lexica Heb. Pars Quarta*, Gött., 1787, pp. 1167 f., he rejects all relation of תושיה with יש, 'existence,'—although without giving a satisfactory reason—and points to Arabic وشى or اسا, '*mederi*.'[4] The word is a form *tuqtilat*, as Olshausen, Stade, and König rightly maintain.[5] It seems to be connected etymologically with the Assyrian stem *asû* (a synonym of *takâlu*), in the Ninevite pronunciation, *ašû*, 'to support, to help,' and its derivatives *issu* and *usâtu*, 'help,' *asû*, 'helper, physician,' *asîtu*, 'pillar, support,' which, in the Ninevite pronunciation *ašîtu*,[6] has passed into Hebrew where we

[1] Cf. his commentary on *Job*, 1st ed., 1864, ad 5, 12.

[2] So also Nowack, *Sprüche Salomo's*, 1883, ad 2, 7.

[3] Cf. also Olshausen, *Lehrb.*, 400; König, *Lehrgeb.*, 2, 1, 193 b.

[4] Cf. Critical Notes on Proverbs, in *The Polychrome Bible*, p. 35, l. 22.

[5] Cf. Olshausen, *Lehrb.*, 400; Stade, *Lehrb.*, 260, 262; König, *Lehrg.*, ii, 1, 193 b.

[6] Cf. Crit. Notes on Ezekiel, in *The Polychrome Bible*, p. 71, l. 43; p. 82, l. 27.

meet with it in Jer. 50, 15, אֲשִׁיָּה = Talm. אשיתא = Eastern Syriac ܐܲܫܝܬܵܐ = Mand. אשיתא = Arab. آسِيَة, 'pillar.'[1] In this connection it is important to note that תושיה occurs only in late writings, besides Is. 28, 29 (Exilic or post-Exilic), only in Proverbs and Job. In Mic. 6, 9 it is due, as has been shown above, to the corruption of the text. The stem, likewise, occurs in Syriac[2] ܐܲܫܵܐ, 'to heal,' ܐܲܫ̈ܘܬܵܐ, 'help;' it has passed into Arabic,[3] where we have اسا or وسا, 'to cure,' اسّى or آسى, 'to help,' and is met with in the Ethiopic *asôt* 'medela, sanatio.'

So we see that תושיה means 'support,' then 'help, success, power, source of help, reliability,' all very slight modifications of the original meaning. The various renderings, such as 'subsistence, reality, essence, wisdom, knowledge, intelligence, happiness,' etc., proposed by commentators, are not warranted. Nor can the connection of תושיה with יֵשׁ be maintained. The word must be considered a form *tuqtilat* from a stem *asû*, 'to support, to help.'

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[1] Cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 97, p. 113; Haupt, *Beitr. z. assyr. Lautlehre*, Nachr. d. Gött. Königl. Ges. d. Wiss., Apr. 1883, p. 90, n. 4.

[2] Cf. the Saphel ܫܲܬܲܐܵܐ *sausî* 'to treat, to nurse;' Cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.*, p. 147, n. 4; *Syr. Gr.*[2], § 180, 2.

[3] Cf. Fränkel, *Die aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, 1886, p. 261.

The Internal Passive in Semitic.—By Frank R. Blake, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

In the Semitic languages the passive may be expressed in several ways. Nearly all of these languages have a number of reflexive stems that are used for the passive, just as many forms of the Greek middle are so employed; e. g. Syriac ܐܬܩܛܠ *ithqĕṭil*, Ethiopic *taqatála*, Hebrew נִקְטַל *niqṭál*, all meaning 'he was killed.' In Biblical Aramaic we have a passive which has the same form as the passive participle; cf. e. g. יְהִיבַת *i̯ĕhīvath* 'she was given,' with בְּרִיךְ *bĕrīkh* 'blessed.' In Assyrian the various permansive forms have, in a majority of cases, a passive meaning; e. g. *petî* 'it is or was opened,' *çabit* 'it is or was captured,' *epuš* 'it is made,' *nukkumû* 'they were heaped up,' *šuklul* 'it is completed,' etc. But the passive formation which is most characteristically Semitic is the passive made by so-called internal vowel change;[1] e. g. Arabic قُتِلَ *qutila* 'he was killed,' which, from a superficial point of view, may be regarded as derived from the active قَتَلَ *qatala*, by changing the first two *a* vowels of the active to *u* and *i* respectively.

This so-called internal passive occurs in Arabic and Hebrew, and apparently also in Biblical Aramaic and Assyrian. In all these languages the forms have one feature in common, namely, they are all characterized by the presence of an *u* vowel in the first syllable.

In Arabic the passive perfect of the simple stem has the form قُتِلَ *qutila*, with *u* in the first syllable, and *i* between the second and third stem consonants. The imperfect is represented by the form يُقْتَلُ *i̯uqtalu*, which has likewise an *u* in the first syllable, but an *a* between the second and third stem consonants. Similar forms are made in all the derived conjugations, e. g.:

II. قُتِّلَ *quttila*, يُقَتَّلُ *i̯uqattalu*;
IV. أُقْتِلَ *uqtila*, يُقْتَلُ *i̯uqtalu*;
V. تُقُتِّلَ *tuquttila*, يُتَقَتَّلُ *i̯utaqattalu*, etc.

[1] Cf. Steinthal-Misteli, *Charakteristik der hauptsächlichsten Typen des Sprachbaus* (Berlin, 1893) pp. 440, 461.

In Hebrew the internal passive is represented by the conjugations Pual and Hophal, together with a few forms of certain rarer conjugations. The common characteristics of all these forms are the *u* vowel of the first syllable, and the *a* vowel between the second and third stem consonants; e. g.:

Pual קטל *quṭṭal*, יקטל *yĕquṭṭal;*
Hophal הקטל *hŏqṭal*, יקטל *yŏqṭal.*

In Biblical Aramaic the internal passive occurs only in the causative stem, being represented by a number of Hophal perfects, e. g.: הנחת *hŏnḥath*, 'he was deposed;'
הובד *hûvadh*, 'he was annihilated;' etc.[1]
These forms are in all probability due to the influence of Hebrew, as no corresponding forms occur in any other Aramaic dialect.[2] The passive stem Pĕ'îl, e. g. יהיב *yĕhîv* 'it was given,' is not to be regarded as belonging to the same category as the internal passive formations in Arabic and Hebrew,[3] but is best considered simply as an inflected passive participle.[4]

In Assyrian the permansive forms of the Piel and Shaphel, e. g. *kuššud* and *šukšud*, which have usually a passive meaning,[5] may, in a general way, be compared with the internal passive formations in the languages just discussed. They appear, however, to be a specific Assyrian development, and are not to be regarded as the equivalents of the passive perfect forms of the intensive and causative stems in the cognate languages.[6] In the Tell-el-Amarna tablets there occur a certain number of passive forms such as *iâdanu* 'it was given,' *išmû* 'it was heard,' *iqbi'u* 'it is said,' *tulqû* 'it is taken,' etc., which correspond to the Arabic imperfect passive of the simple stem, e. g., يقتل *yuqtalu*, and the Hebrew imperfect Hophal, e. g., יקטל *yoqṭal.* According to Professor

[1] For an enumeration of the forms, cf. Strack, *Gram. d. bibl. Aramäischen*, § 24 passim.

[2] So Luzzato, *Gram. of the Biblical Chaldaic Language*, § 44; Kautzsch, *Gram. d. Biblisch-Aramäischen*, §§ 23. 1, Anm. zu No. 2; 34.

[3] So Wright, *Comparative Gram.*, p. 224, 3 *a*.

[4] So Kautzsch, § 29, 3; Marti, *Kurzgef. Gram. d. biblisch-Aramäischen Sprache*, § 49, *d*.

[5] Cf. Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen* (Leipzig, 1885), p. 11; McCurdy, *Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Part 2, Section 1 (Leyden, 1883), p. 515; Delitzsch, *Assyrische Gram.*, p. 247 (English edition, p. 250).

[6] Cf. however, L. Nix, *Zur Erklärung d. semitischen Verbalformen*, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (ZA.) vol. 10, pp. 189 ff.

Knudtzon, however, these are not genuine Assyrian forms, but are due to Canaanite influence.[1]

Such, in brief, is the aspect which the internal passive presents in the different Semitic languages: in Arabic and Hebrew we find it in a highly developed condition; in Biblical Aramaic and Assyrian the few forms which clearly belong to this category are best regarded as due to foreign influence; in Syriac and Ethiopic there is not a trace of the formation.

Some grammarians believe that the internal passive existed in a highly developed form in parent Semitic; they regard Arabic as closest to the original type, and think that this formation has been lost in those languages where it does not appear.[2] But it is more natural to suppose that the internal passive is a late formation which was not developed to any extent except in Arabic and Hebrew (so Haupt), especially as Assyrian, which possesses at best only a few traces of such passive forms, presents a more archaic type than any other Semitic language.

The peculiar vocalism of these internal passive forms has, so far as I know, never been satisfactorily explained. The vowels between the second and third stem consonants, are, of course, to be regarded as the same as the characteristic vowels which we have in the intransitive verb (so Haupt), but the *u* of the first syllable, which is the most prominent characteristic of the internal passive, still remains problematical.[3] It seems possible, however, to determine the origin of this *u*, as I hope to show in the following discussion of the forms of the internal passive in Arabic and Hebrew.

The Arabic passive forms of the simple stem, perfect *qutila*, imperfect *ʾuqtalu*, bear a strong resemblance to the intransitive verbal forms, perfect *qatila*, imperfect *ʾaqtalu*. In fact, the only difference lies in the vowel of the initial syllable, which is *a* in the intransitive, but *u* in the passive.

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[1] See *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 4, 410 and cf. *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum* (London, 1892), p. xiii; Bezold, *Oriental Diplomacy* (London, 1893), p. 119; Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 2, f.

[2] So Wright, *Comp. Gram.*, p. 222; Dillmann-Bezold, *Gram. d. äthiopischen Sprache*, p. 137.

[3] Professor Haupt has suggested that in the form *qutila* we have, in some way, a combination of the characteristic vowels of the intransive forms *qatila* and *qatula*.

In addition to this similarity of form, we find a great similarity of meaning. As Professor Reckendorf[1] has pointed out, the meaning of the passive form is in many instances simply intransitive like that of the verbs *fa'ila*, especially in the case of verbs denoting disease, e. g. جسئ *jusi'a* 'to be or become hard, tough;' زهى *zuhiia* 'to be proud, boastful;' مشق *mušiqa* 'be graceful;' حمق *ḥumiqa* 'have an eruption of the skin, small-pox[?];' رئى *ru'iia* 'have a complaint of the lungs,' etc., etc. Not infrequently the passive and intransitive forms from the same root are identical in meaning; e. g. ثئب *thu'iba* and *tha'iba* 'be relaxed, sluggish;' لقح *luqiḥa* and *laqiḥa* 'be pregnant, conceive;' نزل *nuzila* and *nazila* 'suffer with catarrh;' نهم *nuhima* and *nahima* 'be greedy,' etc., etc.

Such a striking likeness, both in form and meaning, suggests that the internal passive may be nothing but a subsequent differentiation of the intransitive form, and this is borne out by a careful study of the formation of the imperfect.

According to Professor Haupt,[2] the preformatives of the third person of the parent Semitic imperfect were originally simply the vowels *u* or *i*. These were, in all probability, pronouns of the third person used indiscriminately for the masculine or feminine, and are apparently identical with the final element of Hebrew הוא *hū'*, היא *hī'*, Assyrian *šū*, *šī*, and with the initial element of Ethiopic *yĕ'ĕtū*, *yĕ'ĕtī*. In Arabic the *i* and *u* preformatives are modified by analogical influences to *ia* and *iu*; in Hebrew the *i* appears as *ii* (pronounced *i*), the *u*, however, has no distinctly marked representative.[3]

These preformatives *i* and *u* were differentiated at a very early period, *i* being adopted for the Qal and Niphal, *u* for the intensive and causative stems. For example, from Assyrian *kašâdu* 'to conquer,' we have *ikášad* and *ikkašad* (for *inkašad*), but

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[1] *Syntaktische Verhältnisse d. Arabischen* (Leyden, 1895), § 25.

[2] In a paper on *The Vowels of the Preformatives of the Imperfect in Semitic*, read before the American Oriental Society, at Cambridge, in 1899; cf. vol. 20 of this *Journal*, pp. 367, 370, No. 13. The paper will be published in one of the Johns Hopkins University Circulars for the current year (1901).

[3] The preformative of the imperfect Piel *yĕ* presumably represents *u* or *iu*, but it might just as well stand for *ia* or *ii*.

ukaššad and *ušakšad*. The *u* preformative of the simple stem,[1] however, seems to have been preserved in the Hebrew form יוּכַל *yûkal*,[2] which is not passive but the regular imperfect of the intransitive verb יָכֹל *yākōl* 'to be able,' whose first consonant is י representing original ו. The verbs primæ و in Arabic have imperfects passive of exactly the same form as יוּכַל, e. g. يُولَد *yûladu* 'he will be born;' يُوجَد *yûjadu* 'it will be found;' etc. These formations differ from the imperfect passive of the strong verb, as e. g. يُقتَل *yuqtalu*, only in the fact that their initial و quiesces and lengthens the preceding short *u*; consequently יוּכַל *yûkal* and *yuqtalu* may be regarded as representing essentially the same verbal form.[3]

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[1] In certain Arabic dialects the *u*-preformative was used in imperfect forms with characteristic *u*, e. g. *nu'budu* for *na'budu*; cf. Wright-de Goeje, I, § 94, c, B. The by-form with *u* was here preserved under the influence of the following *u*-vowel, just as the by-form *hi* instead of *hu* is preserved in cases like *biyadihi* under the influence of the preceding *i*-vowel.

[2] This form has usually been explained in one of two ways: (1) It is regarded as an imperfect Qal from an original form *yaukal*, which was contracted to *yôkal*, and then modified to *yûkal*; so Bickell, *Outlines of Heb. Gram.*, p. 33; Stade, § 486; König, *Lehrgebäude*, II, p. 407; II, 1, p. 484, top; Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 69, *v*. But in the 3 m. s. imperf. Qal, except in the case of verbs primæ gutturalis, we should expect a preformative *yi*, which would probably have yielded **yûkal* (<**yiukal*), the ו being first changed to י under the influence of the preceding *i*, and then quiescing in it: cf. Arabic الغَازِى for الغَازِو*. Moreover, the change from *yôkal* to *yûkal* is not satisfactorily explained. (2) It is regarded as an imperfect Hophal like יוּבַל 'he was led,' meaning 'he was rendered able or capable.' So Olshausen, p. 586; Ewald, *Ausführl. Lehrb.*, p. 336, *b*; A. Müller, *Schulgram.*, p. 95, s. No form either of the perfect Hophal or of the Hiphîl, however, is made from this root. The proper name יְהוּכַל Jer. 37, 3, which occurs also in Jer. 38, 1, in the form יוּכַל, has sometimes been cited as showing that יוּכַל belongs to the Hophal. In all probability, however, the first part of יוּכַל is the divine name יָהּ or יְהוֹ; cf. Böttcher, § 475, *f*. The form יוּכַל occurs also in Biblical Aramaic alongside of the more usual form יְכַל. Here, however, it is best regarded as a Hebraism; cf. Kautzsch, *Bibl.-Aram. Gr.*, p. 68.

[3] The form יוּכַל is certainly not identical with the Assyrian present of the verb primæ و like *uššab* 'I sit,' *urrad* 'I descend;' impt. *ûšib*,

The Arabic imperfect passive of the simple form, therefore, may be looked upon as an intransitive imperfect with characteristic *a* between the second and third stem consonants, and with *u* preformative; that is to say, it differs from the ordinary intransitive imperfect *i̯aqtalu* only in that the preformative has an *u* instead of an *a* vowel.

In the intransitive verbs of the form *qatila*, then, the imperfects with both *i* and *u* preformatives were preserved, the forms with *u* preformative being more or less exclusively used in a passive sense, thus presenting an example of the general linguistic principle of the arbitrary differentiation or adaptation of coexisting byforms for special purposes.

Now as there existed side by side the intransitive forms *qatila* and *i̯aqtalu* with *a* in the first syllable, corresponding as perfect and imperfect, and the passive imperfect *i̯uqtalu* with *u* vowel in the first syllable, by a perfectly natural proportional analogy the perfect *qutila* was formed, as follows: *i̯aqtalu : qatila :: i̯uqtalu : qutila.* Such a derivation of the form *qutila*, moreover, is in accordance with one of the fundamental principles of Comparative Semitic Grammar, which was stated by Professor Haupt as early as 1878,[1] namely that the perfect is in a great many cases a secondary form, later than, and often influenced by the imperfect.[2]

The Arabic internal passive is not confined to the simple form, but is made, as we have seen, from all the principal verbal stems, e. g. II قتّل *quttila*, يقتّل *i̯uqattalu;* X استقتل *ustuqtila*, يستقتل *i̯ustaqtalu;* etc. These forms, however, are best regarded as based on the analogy of the passive of the simple stem.

The passives of the verbs primæ infirmæ, e. g. ولد *u̯ulida*, and tertiæ infirmæ, e. g. قضى *quḍiia*, are plainly of the same type as

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ûrid (Delitzsch, § 112). The doubling of the second stem consonant in these forms does not indicate length of the preceding vowel, but must be explained in the same way as in the present forms of the verbs primæ א, e. g. *ixxaz* 'he takes,' *ikkal* 'he eats,' etc. (Delitzsch, § 103).

[1] JRAS, 1878, p. 244.

[2] With regard to the derivation of the passive from intransitive forms, cf. the frequent use in Assyrian of the intransitive form corresponding to Hebrew כבד *kāvēdh* 'he was heavy,' Arabic فرح *fariḥa* 'he rejoiced.' in a passive sense; e. g. *šakin* 'it is placed,' *çabit* 'it is or was taken,' etc. (Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.*, p. 237; Eng. ed., p. 239.)

the passive of the strong verb, and the passive of the verbs mediæ geminatæ, e. g. فرّ *furra*, فرّت *furirta*, may also perhaps be so regarded; in the verbs mediæ infirmæ, however, the passive presents a different aspect.

Here the perfect passive of the simple stem is nearly always of the form قيل *qîla* (he was called) with middle vowel *î*, though a few rare forms with middle vowel *û* such as قول *qûla*, also occur.[1] These forms are explained by Wright[2] as contracted from **quʿila*.

The verbs mediæ infirmæ, however, must be considered with August Müller (ZDMG. 33, 698), Nöldeke (*Syr. Gr.*[2] § 177), Stade (§143, 2), and others as two-consonantal forms, with the middle vowel lengthened to conform them to the prevailing three-consonantal type. The passives like قيل and قول are to be compared with the Hebrew passive participles like שִׂים *sîm* 'placed,' and מוּל *mûl* 'circumcised,' and indirectly with the Arabic passive participial forms like مقول *maqûl* 'called' and مسير *masîr* 'traveled,' where the initial syllable *ma* appears to be secondary, due to the analogy of the participles of the derived forms (so Haupt).

Such a comparison is perfectly natural, as instances in which participial and finite verbal forms are identical are by no means rare in Semitic; cf., e. g., the Hebrew participles and verbal adjectives כָּבֵד *kāvēdh* 'heavy' and קָטֹן *qāṭōn* 'small,' with the intransitive verbs *kāvēdh* 'he was heavy,' *qāṭōn* 'he was small';[3]

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[1] Other examples of the same form are هوب *hûba* 'he was regarded with awe, veneration,' سول *sûla* 'he was asked.'

[2] *Comp. Gram.*, p. 244.

[3] In the verbs mediæ infirmæ the participle and the 3 s. m. perf. are identical even when the verb has the transitive form; we have not only מֵת *mēth*, בּוֹשׁ *bōš*, but also קָם *qām* as participle and perfect: so Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 273, fn. 1; cf. however, Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 72, *g*. The participle and 3 s. m. perf. Niphal of verbs of this class are also identical in form, e. g. cf. נָסוֹג *nāsôgh*, perfect, with נָבוֹן *nāvôn*, participle. Moreover, the participle and 3 s. m. perf. Niphal of the strong verb, e. g. נִקְטָל *niqṭāl* and נִקְטַל *niqṭal*, are to be regarded as representing the same form, since the original short *a* of a final syllable is lengthened under the influence of the accent in nominal forms, but preserved short in the forms of the verb; cf., for example, דָּבָר *dāvār* 'word' with הָרַג *hārágh* 'he killed,' which both go back to the ground-form *qătăl*. There is also a small number of participles

Arabic فرح *fariḥu*^{n} 'glad' and شكس *šakusu*^{n} 'stubborn' with *fariḥa* 'he was glad,' *šakusa* 'he was stubborn.' In Biblical Aramaic, indeed, inflected passive participles are used for the passive perfect, just as we have supposed in the case of *qîla* and *qûla;* cf., for example, גמיר *gĕmîr* 'completed,' זקיף *zĕqîf* 'raised,' with יהיבת *i̯ĕhîvath* 'it was given,' יהיבו *i̯ĕhîvû* 'they were given,' etc.[1] Moreover, in the verbs mediæ infirmæ, the form שים *sîm* (=Hebrew *sîm*) corresponding exactly in form to Arabic قيل *qîla*, is used both as passive participle and as finite passive.

The passive perfect of the verbs mediæ infirmæ, therefore, is of an entirely different type from that of the strong verb. In the latter, the perfect is formed on the basis of an intransitive imperfect with *u* preformative, while in the verbs mediæ infirmæ, an inflected passive participial form is employed for the perfect.[2]

It has already been shown in the discussion of the strong verb, that the passive and intransitive forms are closely related. A similar connection appears in the case of verbs mediæ infirmæ. The first and second persons perfect of the intransitive verb خاف *xâfa* 'he feared,' are *xiftu*, *xifta*, etc., usually explained as contracted from **xaʮiftu*, **xaʮifta*, etc.[3] But the first and second persons of the passive perfect have the same form, e. g. *qiltu* 'I was called,' *qilta*, etc. It is not improbable that the two series of forms are identical, and that the third person singular perfect of the intransitive verbs was originally the same as the corresponding form of the passive, viz. قيل *qîla*, or rather the pretriconsonantal type *qila*, with short ĭ, i. e. a form like מֵת.[4] The

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of the passive Qal which bear the same relation to the 3 s. m. of the corresponding perfects; e. g., לקח *luqqāḥ* 'taken,' etc., cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 52, *s*.

[1] Cf. also Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*^{2}, § 64, and Crit. Notes on Proverbs, in *The Polychrome Bible*, p. 35, l. 15.

[2] In Biblical Aramaic, as we have seen, this type of passive is made also in the strong verb; we have not only שים *sîm*, but also forms like יהיב *i̯ĕhîv*.

[3] So Wright, *Comp. Gram.*, p. 245.

[4] This is the only certain instance in the verb in Hebrew. In the noun, however, the examples of this form are more numerous, e. g. גר *gēr* 'stranger,' כן *kēn* 'righteous,' זד *zēdh* 'haughty,' לץ *lēç* 'mocker,' עד *ʿēdh* 'witness.' In several of the forms quoted by Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*^{2}, § 98 C, the *ē* was originally an *â;* for instance, *kēfā* 'stone,' Assyr. *kâpu;* cf. ibid., § 97.

form with long *î* is found in Assyrian *mît*, 'he died,' Syriac ܡܺܝܬ *mîth*. For this form, identical with the perfect passive قيل *qîla*, perfects like خاف *xâfa* 'he feared,' مات *mâta* 'he died,' made on the analogy of transitive forms like قال *qâla* 'he said,' have been substituted.

In Arabic, therefore, the evidence is strongly in favor of the theory that the internal passive is simply a differentiation from the intransitive form, the imperfect with *u* preformative being the germ of the formation. The same theory is supported by the evidence of the forms in Hebrew.

Here the principal passive forms are the so-called Pual and Hophal, e. g., Pual: קטל *quṭṭal;* יקטל *i̯ĕquṭṭal;* Hophal: הקטל *hŏqṭal*, יקטל *i̯ŏqṭal*. It has been recognized for many years, however, that a considerable number of Pual perfects and Hophal imperfects are really passives of Qal,[1] so we may assume that Hebrew formerly possessed the following passive formations from the simple stem, viz., perfect *qutal*, without doubling of the second stem consonant, and imperfect *i̯uqtal*.

The imperfect is here as in Arabic to be regarded as the nucleus of the passive formations. It was originally, like the Arabic form, an intransitive imperfect with *u* preformative, as for example יוכל *i̯ûkal*, 'he will be able.' On the basis of this imperfect, a perfect *qutal* with *u* in the first syllable was made, the vowel of the second syllable, however, being *a*, the same as that of the imperfect, and not *i* as in Arabic *qutila*. It is not impossible, however, that the vowel of the second syllable was originally *i*, which was changed to *a* under the influence of the imperfect.

The passive formations with *u* in the first syllable and characteristic intransitive *a* vowel, were then extended to the derived conjugations Piel and Hiphîl, giving the Pual and Hophal. Scattered instances of rarer passive conjugations also occur; for example, אמלל *umlal* 'it withered;' כלכלו *kŏlkĕlû*, 'they were nourished;' התפקדו *hŏthpāqĕdhû*, 'they were counted'; etc.

Besides the internal passive of Qal, there is another stem, the Niphal, originally reflexive, which has come to be used as the regular passive of Qal. This fact has in all probability prevented any extensive growth of the internal passive of the simple stem, and the forms which had already been developed came to be

[1] Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, §§ 52, *e*; 53. *u*. See also *Hebraica*, 3, 39.

regarded at a later period as belonging to the passives of the derived conjugations, the perfect being assimilated to the Pual, from which it differed only in the doubling of the middle radical, the imperfect to the Hophal, with which it was identical, just as the Arabic imperfect passive forms of the simple and causative stems are identical, both being represented by the form *ʾuqtalu*.

The doubling of the second stem consonant in the perfect passive forms of Qal is probably only an orthographic device of the Masorites to preserve the short vowel in an open syllable, just as in קְטַנָּה, from קָטֹן *small;* אַרְמָּה, from אָדֹם *red;* עֲרֻמִּים, from עָרֹם, *naked;* עֲגֻלָּה, from עָגֹל, *round;* קְטַנָּה, from קָטֹן *small;* גְּמַלִּים, from גָּמָל *camel*, etc., etc.

The Semitic internal passive, therefore, may be regarded as having its origin in an intransitive imperfect of the simple form with *u* preformative, a form such as, for example, the Hebrew יוכל *ʾūkal* 'he will be able.' The passive value which is apparently inherent in the *u* vowel of the initial syllable, and the *a* vowel between the second and third stem consonants, is simply due to the presence of these vowels in these same positions in this intransitive imperfect form.

On the basis of this imperfect, a perfect form was made, having like the imperfect an *u* in the initial syllable; in Arabic, the form *qutila*, with *i* in the second syllable, due to the influence of the intransitive perfects like فَرِحَ *fariḥa* 'to rejoice;' in Hebrew, the form *qutal*, which has either retained the characteristic *a* vowel of the intransitive imperfect or changed the *i* of *qutila* to *a* on the analogy of this imperfect, or possibly of the active forms.

The passive thus established in the simple form was extended by analogy to the derived conjugations. In Arabic the internal passive of the simple form remains as such alongside of the passive of the intensive, causative, etc.; in Hebrew, however, the extensive use of the originally reflexive Niphal as the passive of Qal has prevented any extensive development of the internal formation in this stem, the forms which occur being misunderstood and considered as belonging to the derived conjugations, the perfect, to the Piel, the imperfect, to the Hophal.

The Word זרה *in the Siloam Inscription.*—By Frank R. Blake, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

The student of Hebrew is in a very unfavorable position with regard to his sources; much less favorable, in fact, than the student of that newly opened field of Semitic study, the cuneiform inscriptions. The Assyriologist has the great advantage of possessing throughout authentic and contemporary documents, while the Hebraist must content himself with late copies, written long after Hebrew ceased to be a living language.

All the extant manuscripts of the Old Testament are late, the oldest, whose date is known with certainty, being the St. Petersburg Codex of the Prophets, which is not earlier than 916 A. D. But during the last few years a manuscript which is apparently older has been discovered. This manuscript is now preserved in the British Museum (Oriental, 4445). According to Dr. Ginsburg[1] it is at least half a century older than the St. Petersburg Codex; he says :—Though not dated, the consonantal text with the vowel-points and accents was probably written about A. D. 820–850. The Massorah has been added about a century later by a Massoretic annotator who revised the text. The Massorah, which is here exhibited in its oldest form, frequently uses a terminology different from that employed in MSS. of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

There are a few legends on seal-stones and coins which date from an earlier period, and there is an inscription in a dialect that is almost Hebrew, the celebrated Moabite stone, recounting the exploits of Mesha, the king of Moab at the time of Ahab of Israel (B. C. 876–854). In the Siloam Inscription, however, we have, for the first time, an authentic contemporary Hebrew record.

This inscription was discovered at Jerusalem in June, 1880, in the subterranean tunnel through which the waters of the spring, *'Ên Sitti Maryam*, just outside the city, are conducted to the Pool of Siloam. It seems to have been written in the time of

[1] *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible* (London, 1897), chap. xii, p. 469 ff.; p. 475, cf. plate 1 of the *Series of Fifteen Facsimiles of Manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible*, with descriptions by C. D. Ginsburg, London, 1897.

Hezekiah of Judah (B. C. 720–699), thus antedating by more than fifteen centuries the earliest Hebrew manuscript. The inscription is very brief, consisting of six lines averaging about ten words each. It is written in the archaic Hebrew character, which is similar to the script of the Phœnician inscriptions, and which is preserved in a somewhat modified form in the Pentateuchal Recension and Targum of the Samaritans, who seceded from the Jewish community in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, about 430 B. C.

The Siloam Inscription has attracted a great deal of attention, and has been repeatedly translated. In 1882, the director of the explorations undertaken under the auspices of the *Deutsche Palästina-Verein*, Professor Guthe, succeeded in taking a plaster cast of this important monument. This cast has been often reproduced and forms the basis of all subsequent copies of the text in books dealing with Biblical Antiquities. In Professor Kautzsch's edition of Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, there is a drawing of the inscription from the skillful pen of the great epigraphist of Strassburg, Professor Julius Euting, and the late Professor Socin, of Leipzig, published, shortly before his death, an independent copy, designed especially for the use of academic classes.[1] The most recent contribution to the study of the Siloam Inscription has been given by Dr. Lidzbarski, of Kiel, in his *Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik*, part 1 (Giessen, 1900), p. 53. He discusses, however, only a few minor details, and does not throw much additional light on the subject.

The labors of these and of numerous other scholars have rendered our understanding of the inscription almost perfect. There are a few problems, however, which still await solution, and these problems were discussed this year in the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University, during the interpretation of this text.

At the beginning of the inscription, the splitting of the rock has destroyed several letters which must have formed a word referring in some way to the next following, a feminine noun meaning *tunnel* or *cutting through*. Various restorations of this word have been suggested. Professor Sayce and others would read הֵן *behold* (*the tunnel*), but this meaning does not specially suit the context. Professor Guthe suggested זֹאת *this* (*is the*

[1] A. Socin, *Die Siloahinschrift*, Freiburg i. B., 1899 (reprinted from ZDPV. *22*, 61–64).

tunnel); others, תַּמּת *finished is* (*the tunnel*), and בְּיֹם *in the day of* (*the cutting through*).[1] All three of these words, however, require three letters, and according to Guthe there is only space for two. It is quite possible that, instead of the feminine תַּמּת, we should simply read the masculine תַּם, as it is not necessary in Semitic that a preceding verbal predicate should agree with its subject; cf., for example, the Biblical יְהִי מְאֹרֹת *let there be luminaries.*[2]

The second word of the inscription, נקבה, is the word for *tunnel.* It does not occur in Biblical Hebrew, and has usually been read נְקֵבָה, or נָקְבָה, or נָקֵבָה, following the Aramaic נוקבא, ניקבא, *hole*, and the Syriac ܢܩܒܐ, *perforation.* In post-Biblical Hebrew, however, the form נְקוּבָה *perforation, aperture*, is found, alongside of which we have the Aramaic נְקוּבְתָא with a similar meaning.[3] We might, therefore, read נְקֻבָה.

The gap in the third line after מימן *from the right* (or *south*) is usually restored משמאל *from the left* (or *north*). This is the most natural restoration, especially as it is favored by the remains of the characters which are still visible. But Lidzbarski[4] states that this restoration is impossible, as the letters of this word do not entirely fill the gap; there is room for another character (so, too, Socin, *l. c.*). This difficulty, however, can be easily overcome by inserting the article, and reading מֵהַשְּׂמֹאל, even though the preceding מִיָּמִן is without article. We find the same construction in 2 Chron. 3, 17.

The most difficult problem in the inscription is presented by the word זדה, in line 3. This word has evidently the meaning *fissure;* but it has not yet been successfully connected with any Semitic root. Considered with regard to its form, it might be derived from a stem יזד, or זרד, זור, from which last Professor Sayce derives the word, translating *excess*, whatever that may mean in this connection. But it is not possible to obtain the meaning *fissure* from any of these stems.

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[1] Cf. ZDMG. 36 (1882), 731.

[2] See also Gesenius Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*,[26] § 145, *o*; Kautzsch, *Gram. d. Biblisch-Aramäischen*, § 98, 2, a; Wright-De Goeje, *Arabic Gram.*,[3] vol. 2, § 142; Dillmann, *Äthiopische Gram.*[2], § 195 (p. 442).

[3] Cf. Levy, *Neuhebräisches u. chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 3, pp. 432 b; 433 a.

[4] *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 54.

It is strange that no one has yet called attention to the fact that the word might be derived from a stem mediæ נ, in which case we might read *ziddāh*, for *zindāh*.

The stem זנך does not occur in Hebrew; but in Syriac and Arabic certain of its forms are found, the meanings of which seem to be related to the meaning *fissure*, which must be presupposed for the word in question. The original meaning of the stem זנך seems to have been *to be narrow*, and from this signification the meanings of the corresponding Syriac and Arabic words can, for the most part, be readily derived.

In Syriac this stem is represented by one verbal and one nominal form. The Piel ܙܢܟ means first, *to make empty*, a meaning which is closely related to the original signification *to be narrow*. For instance, a water-skin might be said to be made narrow when it is emptied. The word also signifies *to deprive, to cut off*, which meanings are easily derivable from the first. The noun ܙܢܳܟܳܐ is the name given to a species of oversleeves worn by the priests of many of the Eastern churches, namely, of the Jacobite, Nestorian, and Armenian churches, and of some branches of the Roman Catholic church. These sleeves (Arabic زندان *zandāni*; see below, note 4) extend from the wrist to a little below the elbow, and fit close to the arm, that is to say, they are rather tight or narrow.[1]

In Arabic, the forms of this stem are more numerous. The intransitive verb زنذ *zanida* means *to be thirsty*, i. e., *to suffer, be in straits for water*. The second form زنّذ, corresponding to the Syriac Pael form ܙܢܟ, has the following meanings:—(1) *to make or render narrow, scanty;* (2) *to fill a water-skin*, i. e., to render it tight; cf. our slang *tight* meaning *full* in a certain special sense: *tight* and *narrow* are closely connected in meaning, e. g. a shoe that is too narrow is also too tight; moreover, in some

[1] I am indebted to the Rev. Father Oussani, of Bagdad, for the above information. The account of the ܙܢܳܟܳܐ given in Payne Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus* is not entirely clear or satisfactory. In the *Compendious Syriac Dictionary* edited by J. Payne Smith, part 1 (Oxford, 1896) we read under ܙܢܳܟܳܐ: *sleeves* or *maniples* worn by Jacobite priests and still worn by the Christians of St. Thomas in Malabar. For the etymology see also below, p. 59, note 4.

languages the same word is used in both meanings, e. g., German *eng*, Arabic ضيّق.—(3) *to lie* (*mentiri*), perhaps originally *to fill with lying speech;* cf. our slang *stuff*.—(4) *to make the fire-stick* زند *produce fire;* this meaning is plainly denominative. The V. form تزنّد is defined by Lane as *to be or become straitened in one's bosom; to be or become embarrassed so as to be unable to reply; to be angry*, all of which significations are easily derivable from the meaning *to be narrow*.[1] Moreover, the two sticks which are used to produce fire[2] and the two bones of the forearm, the radius (كرسوع, the outer bone on the thumb side of the forearm) and the ulna (كوع),[3] are called زندان, possibly because they are close together, fit into each other.[4]

The meaning of these Syriac and Arabic forms, therefore, certainly seem to point to a meaning *to be narrow* for the root זנד, and from such a root the derivation of a noun meaning *fissure* is perfectly natural. Consequently the word זדה may be read זִדֵּה, or perhaps זַדֵּה, representing an original form *zindāh* or *zandah*.

As it is sometimes a great help towards the understanding of a text to study its equivalent in some cognate language, and an

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[1] The forms I (transitive) and IV also occur, but their meanings are not important in this connection.

[2] The lower stick (زند, Greek *ἐσχάρα*) is called عفار, and the upper stick (زندة, Greek *τρύπανον*) مرخ. According to Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, I, 76, عفار is a secondary modification of عاثور عثار, and this may be connected with the name of the goddess עשתרת, while مرخ corresponds to مرّيخ.

[3] These two terms denote especially the carpel ends of the radius and ulna, respectively. The real name for radius is ساعد, and ذراع for ulna. Both ساعد and ذراع are, however, used *promiscue* for forearm. In Syriac the two bones of the forearm are known as عضدا وفخا.

[4] Professor Haupt, however, thinks that the two bones of the forearm are called زندان on account of the space or slit between them, and that اكمام *sleeves* must be derived from this word; cf. Ger. *Ärmel* from *Arm*, and Lat. *manica* (French *manche*) from *manus*, Greek *χειρίς* from *χείρ*, Syr. عضدا *glove* = Heb. כַּף *hand*, etc.

Assyrian translation of the Siloam Inscription was prepared during the past session, in the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University, it may perhaps not be out of place to append this translation here.

Assyrian Translation of the Siloam Inscription.

Šuklul šipir pilši-ma, kî'âm epšet pilši: adî kallape aqqullâti-šunu ušelâ išten mixrat išten-ma, adî šalâšti ammâti ana napluši, išmû qûl šâsî ana šânî, aššu batqu ibši ina kâpi ištu iltâni u ištu šûti-ma; ina ûmi ša pilša ušaklilû kallape upallišû ana tarçi axâmiš, aqqullu mixrat aqqulli-ma, me illikû ištu mûçî ana agammi lem šinâ me ammat-ma, me ammat ibši melâ ša kâpi elî reši ša kallape.

For the Assyrian stem פלש and its Hebrew equivalent פלס in Pss. 58, 3; 78, 50, see the Critical Notes on Proverbs in *The Polychrome Bible*, p. 39, l. 5. The end of the first line of the Hebrew text of the Siloam Inscription must be restored as follows:—בעוד הניף החצבם את. In the second line we must read after לְהַנָּקֵב יבעוד שלש אמת. Instead of *ana agammi* =אל הברכה, in the fifth line of the inscription, we might also use *ana mekalti;* cf. מִיכַל הַמַּיִם 2 S. 17, 20 (contrast Löhr *ad loc.*) and Ethiopic *mĕ'qâl*, pl. *mĕ'qâlât* (e. g. Dillm., *Chrest. Aeth.*, p. 2, l. 14); the Ethiopic word, which was pronounced *mĕqâl*, should be spelled with א; the stem is אכל or יכל *to hold*, cf. בארת נשברים אשר לא־יָכְלוּ Jer. 2, 13. The following Assyrian word *lem* (=לְאֹם; cf. *rešu* =ראש, *çenu* =צאן, etc.)[1] corresponds to Heb. אֶלֶף; cf. Delitzsch's *Assyr. Lesestücke*[4] (Leipzig, 1900), p. 171, *s. v.* לאם and *ibid.*, p. 32, l. 1; see also ZA. 12, 318. For 1200 we might also say *šinâ ner* (νῆρος); cf. Haupt, *The Assyrian E-vowel*, p. 9, 2.

[1] See Haupt, *Die sumerischen Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 67, n. 1; *The Assyrian E-vowel* (Baltimore, 1887), p. 21.

The Two Unidentified Geographical Names in the Moabite Stone.— By Rev. T. C. Foote, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

It is hardly necessary to dwell on the details of the discovery of the Moabite stone in 1868. The historical allusions and geographical names which we find in this inscription of Mesha tally so well with the O. T. that a suspicion could be aroused as to the genuineness of the stone.[1] Almost all the geographical names have been identified with places mentioned in the O. T.

Two names, however, have not yet been satisfactorily explained: שרן and מחרת (or שחרת). They are classified by Smend and Socin[2] under tribal names. Perhaps the true explanation of these names is to be found by taking them not as *nomina propria* but as *appellativa*, as was suggested in the Semitic Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University during the past year.

The connection in which the names occur is as follows: The king of Israel had built the city of Ataroth, probably the place mentioned in Num. 32, 34 as built by the Gadites. King Mesha captured it and slew all the people; afterwards repeopling it with the men of שרן the men of מחרת (or שחרת). As was the custom with Assyrian kings when they captured or built a city and then peopled it with persons from another locality, so it appears that king Mesha, after destroying the inhabitants of Ataroth, peopled it again with men of שרן and men of מחרת (or שחרת).

שָׁרֹן *plain* is the name generally applied to the strip of low land on the Mediterranean coast stretching from Joppa to Cæsarea. But in 1 Chr. 5, 16 it is applied, without the use of the article, to some locality in Gilead east of the Jordan. A comparison of the Greek versions[3] shows that the word is uncertain and the place could hardly have been a city of any size. However, it is not necessary to take it as a proper name, but it may be regarded as an appellative referring to the plain which lies north of the

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[1] Cf. Schlottmann, *Die Siegessäule Mesa's* (Halle, 1870), pp. 4 and 5.

[2] *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab* (Freiburg i. B., 1886), p. 33.

[3] וּבְכָל־מִגְרַשֵּׁי שָׁרֹן עַל־תּוֹצָאוֹתָם; LXX. Καὶ πάντα τὰ περίχωρα Σαρὼν ἕως ἐξόδου, *Alia* καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀφωρισμένοις Σαρὼμ ἐπὶ τῶν διεξόδων αὐτῶν.

tableland of Moab. This plateau of Moab is referred to in Deut. 3, 10; 4, 43; Josh. 13, 9, etc., as מִישׁוֹר, a portion of the inheritance of Reuben.

The land of Moab lies east of the Dead Sea, being about 50 miles long by 30 wide. It is divided by the deep valley of the Arnon, now the Wady el-Môjib, north of which, on the high plateau, most of the cities of Moab lay. This region was known as מִישׁוֹר *table land* (in the A. V. *plain country*)—"the Sharon of Eastern Palestine (as Major-General Wilson says)[1] which extended beyond the river Arnon, through Moab to the mountain country of Edom. The whole district where not very rocky is covered with grass and affords excellent pasturage. It was in the rich upland pastures and extensive forests of Gilead and Bashan north of the Arnon that the tribes of Reuben and Gad and half the tribe of Manasseh took up their abode."

With one exception מִישׁוֹר refers to the plain or table land east of the Jordan, apparently in contradistinction to the rocky soil and more broken ground on the west. But in 1 K. 20, 23-25 מִישׁוֹר seems to apply to the plain of Sharon west of the Jordan. These terms שָׁרוֹן and מִישׁוֹר are not necessarily fixed localities but may be applied as appellatives, and hence the אִישׁ שָׁרֹן of the inscription need not mean men of a place called Sharon, nor need it be taken as the name of some special tribe, but may simply denote the Men of the Plain, valley men in distinction from mountain or plateau men. Hence a *nomen appellativum*. If the objection be made to this explanation that one would expect יושב instead of איש, as in יושב הארץ in Gen. 50, 11, or ישבי ההר in Josh. 13, 6, it is sufficient to note that the dialect of Moab does not always conform to the Hebrew idiom. But in fact the identical use of איש does occur in the O. T., e. g. Neh. 3, 22, אנשי הככר *men of the plain*, Gen. 25, 27, איש שדה *man of the field*.

In the case of the other name, it is not entirely certain whether the first consonant is ש or מ, It was first read ש, notably by Clermont-Ganneau. Later, Ginsburg read מ, thinking of Machærus (מכוור, מכבר), which is an impossible identification.[2]

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[1] See the Bible Atlas, S.P.C.K. 1900, Tristram's *Land of Moab*, and Buhl, *Geographie des Alten Palästina*.

[2] *Cf.* Diestel in *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie* 16, 234.

Since Ginsburg, however, the character has usually been read מ. The difference between the ש and מ in the script of the Moabite stone is practically only the additional down stroke of the מ. Now Dr. Lidzbarski, of Kiel, has recently published in part 1 of his *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* (Giessen, 1900) p. 6, the result of his examination of the reconstruction of the Moabite Stone in the Louvre, and also of the squeezes, and states that the plaster cast only runs as far as the place where the down stroke of the מ would be, if it were a מ. He gives it as his opinion, however, that it is a מ rather than a ש. The earlier reading of ש by Clermont Ganneau, adopted by Nöldeke, is under the circumstances equally possible. But it makes no difference whether we read ש or מ if the word is taken as an appellative.

In the case of ש we should have שְׁחַרַת fem. of שַׁחַר *morning*, Arabic سحر *suḥre*. The form שחרת, it is to be noted, occurs in the next line of the inscription, in the phrase מִבְּקִעַ שְׁחַרַת *from the breaking of the morning*. We have then such an expression as בְּנֵי קֶדֶם *Sons of the East* i. e. the Bedouins of the desert.

But if it be preferred to read מַחֲרַת we have a word meaning *front* and hence the *east*, identical with Assyrian *mixrat* = קֶדֶם, so that איש מחרת would again be the exact equivalent of בני קדם *Sons of the East*, the Bedouins.

The chief point is that the names are probably not *nomina propria* but *appellativa*, and the reading of the lines would then be: "I settled in it (i. e. Ataroth) men of the plain and men of the east," i. e. Bedouins.

The Old Testament Expression zanáh ahrê.—By Rev. T. C. Foote, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

The object of this investigation is to trace the historical development of the metaphorical use of *zanáh* and to determine the Hebrew feeling for this word.

There are over 25 instances of the metaphorical use of *zanáh* and its derivatives. To trace the historical development in the use of this word, the various passages where it occurs must be considered in chronological order.

The oldest document that can be traced in the literary analysis of the O. T. is J, i. e. the Judaic document, the oldest stratum of which could hardly have been written later than 850 B. C., or about the time of Jehoshaphat of Judah (B. C. 873-84). This may be called the *terminus ad quem*, but the *terminus a quo* can only be fixed with certainty by the date of the event or person written about. There are considerations, such as the circumstantiality of a narrative, its vividness, or the contrary, that enable a critic to judge whether a narrative is contemporaneous with the event described or later. Canon Driver thinks that one cannot with probability ascribe literary activity to the period preceding the monarchy, or about 1000 B. C. But the fact that the Hebrews adopted the language of the Canaanites, in all probability about the time of the Tell el-Amarna tablets, 1400 B. C., shows at least the possibility of a literature antedating the Monarchy. The fact that the earliest documents of the O. T. belong to the golden age of Hebrew literature is not without significance in this connection. The other old document is E, i. e. the Ephraimitic narrative, and is, perhaps, a hundred years later than J, as regards its writing. Both these documents have also various strata. That J and E are combined in the Hexateuch, does not affect their age inasmuch as the extracts are taken in their original form. The editorial comments are, as a rule, easily distinguishable, and belong to the time of Deuteronomy, about 630 B. C. The dates of the prophecies, when authentic, are the most accurate that can be assigned to any passage. The Priests' code, the earliest stratum of which is the Law of

Holiness (Lev. 16-26), forms the skeleton of the Hexateuch and is assigned to the first half of the 6th century B. C., though the use of tradition in its composition is probably large.

About two centuries later than the Priests' code, perhaps 332 B. C., the books of Chronicles were written, at a time when Hebrew was no longer commonly understood.

The passages containing the word under consideration range from J to Chronicles. The earliest reference is Ex. 34, 15-16. JAHVEH forbids Moses to have anything to do with the Canaanites "lest you make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and they go a whoring after their gods, and do sacrifice unto their gods, and one call you, and you eat of his sacrifice and you take his daughters for your sons, and his daughters go a whoring after their gods and cause your sons to go a whoring after their gods." A similar passage occurs in Num. 25, 1. As to the age of these passages, it must be borne in mind that the writing down of an institution or law may be many years later than the time when it went into effect. The phrase in question is equivalent to worship, although it may have had a literal sense.

The next time the phrase occurs is in Hosea 743 B. C., where, as has often been pointed out, the sad events in the prophet's own experience may have led him to regard idolatry as spiritual adultery. This idea is very plain in Hosea (743 B. C.), Jeremiah (628 B. C.), and Ezekiel (593 B. C.), being indicated by an additional phrase, such as מתחת אלהיהם *from under their God* or מאחרי יהוה *from after Jahveh* or מעל אלהיך *from upon thy God.*

But almost contemporaneous with Hosea, perhaps 700 B. C., is a passage in Isaiah 23, 17,18 a, probably a later addition to the work of Isaiah, where *zanáh* is used with no allusion to idolatry, but rather absorption in mercantile intercourse. "It shall come to pass at the end of 70 years that the Lord will visit Tyre and she shall return to her hire and go a whoring with all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth; and her merchandise and her hire shall be holiness to the Lord." Again in Is. 1, 21, *zanáh* is used of connivance with thieves and murderers on the part of Jerusalem.

The next passage has to do with the Ephod, Jud. 8, 27 b, "and all Israel went a whoring after it there," which editorial comment is to be referred to the time of Deut. (621 B. C.). I have discussed the Ephod at some length in a special treatise and

have shown that it is not an idol. Most of the recent commentators, however, believe Gideon's ephod to have been an idol of some kind[1]; but as that idea is largely drawn from this phrase, I will pass over it, merely stating that I believe it to have been what the later ephod was *viz.*, a pouch containing the sacred lots; and that this passage is to be compared with Hosea 4, 12, where the spirit of whoredom seems to refer to the use of superstitious oracles.

Jud. 8, 33 refers to the people going a whoring after Baalim. 2 Kings, 9, 22 alludes to the whoredoms of Jezebel. These passages refer to idolatry, but there is no allusion to spiritual adultery, as in Hosea and Jeremiah.

Nahum 3, 4 refers to the whoredoms of Nineveh the well favored harlot, the mistress of witchcrafts, that selleth nations through her whoredoms. Here the reference is to political intrigue, as in Ezek. 16, 26 and 23, 30, where the intrigues of Jerusalem with Egypt and Assyria are depicted under the figure of prostitution with a minuteness of detail that shocks our sense of decency.

Ps. 73, 27 shows through its parallelism that the phrase indicates separation from God. "Lo, they that are far from Thee shall perish: Thou hast destroyed all them that go a whoring from Thee."

In Jer. 3, 2, 9, Judah's political alliances are referred to, as well as idolatry.

In Deut. 31, 16 we have the significant expression "to go a whoring after *strange* gods." If "to go a whoring" means idolatry, what is the need of any limitation? Compare this with the expression in Jud. 2, 17, to go a whoring after *other* gods. Why *other* gods, unless it be to indicate that idolatry was meant? The expression אלהים אחרים *other gods* is used 64 times, and it never follows any verb which could not be applied to God. Why does it not require that a good sense shall here be given to *zanáh*? We find, e. g., the expression to "serve other gods," meaning other than the true God; to sacrifice to other than the true God, etc., so to go a whoring after *other* gods means other

[1] The view that Gideon's ephod was an *agalma* was advanced by Pres. Moore in his Commentary on Judges and in vol. 2 of Cheyne-Black's *Ency. Biblica*, 1901. I am glad to be able to state that he has more recently abandoned this opinion.

than the true God, and requires *zanáh* to be used *in bonam partem.*

Two passages occur in the Law of Holiness, Lev. **17**, 7 and **20** 5-6, where the allusion is to superstitious practices concerning the שעירם *Se'îrîm*, rendered by the AV. "devils," by the RV. "he-goats"; and reference is also made to running after a man who sacrificed to Molech, or to indulging in witchcraft and following wizards. Again, in Num. **14**, 33 and **15**, 39 from the Priests' code, the same idea of running after the mind and eyes, i. e. self-indulgence, fickleness and instability, is seen. The blue fringes were made that the Israelities might remember all the commands of JAHVEH and do them, and not go about after their mind and eyes, after which they went a whoring. Then in Ps. **106**, 39, which is post-Exilic, the same idea is seen of following their own will rather than God's will.

"They were polluted with their works and went a whoring after their own inventions." It might be idolatry, or it might be superstition, or merely some fad or self-indulgences.

Finally there are two passages in the late writings, 1 Chr. **5**, 25 and 2 Chr. **21**, 11, which are in the style of Hosea and Ezekiel, and were possibly drawn from them.

We have seen then that the metaphorical sense of *zanáh* was first applied to the worship of the heathen. We cannot doubt that it had some counterpart, at some time, in their heathenish rites. It was then taken up by the prophet Hosea (743 B. C.) to teach the Israelites that idolatry was spiritual unfaithfulness. Even in Hosea, the application was probably partly literal, as may be seen from a comparison of the expression in Hos. **9**, 1: "Thou has loved hire upon all corn-floors" with several references in Frazer's *Golden Bough.* In this sense of spiritual unfaithfulness given to *zanáh*, Hosea is followed by Jeremiah, but with a distinct widening of the application to include political alliances. This widening had already taken place in passages where there was no reference to unfaithfulness, as in Is. **23**, 17, 18 a, where the thought is mercantile alliances, and in Nahum, political alliances, and that, not between the chosen people and heathen, but between heathen nations. This idea was then applied by Ezekiel to spiritual unfaithfulness in political alliances between Jerusalem and heathen nations, indicating a development of the Theocratic idea to which this charge of unfaithfulness corresponds. The date of Ezekiel, the beginning of the 6th

century B. C., is the time when the rise of the Theocratic idea is to be seen in the Deuteronomistic editors, the full development of which is found in the Priests' code. But in Ezekiel there is a still further widening of the use of *zanáh* to include any alienation of the mind from God—a ceasing to think wholly of Him, perhaps a spirit of worldliness or indulgence in secular pleasures. So in a Psalm of this period, the idea is merely separation. Finally in the later passages in the Law of H. and the Priests' code *zanáh* is used of any fickle running after one thing or another.

Evidently the English rendering "to go a whoring" is entirely inapplicable to more than the earliest passages. When used by Hos., Jer., and Ezek. and in 2 Ch. 5, 25, which passage seems to be in imitation of the prophets, the rendering "go astray after" or "run in faithlessness" as used in *The Polychrome Bible*, brings out the idea with accuracy. But what of the historical passages or those in which there is no idea of unfaithfulness? To render these accurately, not only the words of the writer must be understood, but the feeling of the writer for those words. Now, any word in English which would convey however remotely the original or literal significance of *zanáh*, could only be used in a bad sense. But was this the case with the Hebrews? The fact that prophets like Jeremiah and Ezekiel would wish to use such elaborately and minutely developed metaphorical illustrations shows that the feeling of the Hebrews for such a metaphor was free from any intrinsic shame. Hence we are prepared to find that a metaphorical use of *zanáh* may contain no idea of inherent shame, representing only an intense devotion to, or absorption in anything, without implying condemnation if rightly directed. Thus in Deut. 23, 19 the hire of a harlot, אתנן זונה is stated to be an abomination unto the Lord—being taken literally; also in Mic. 1, 7 the images in Samaria are called the 'hire of a harlot,' taken metaphorically but condemned as idolatry; while in Is. 23, 17 the hire of the harlot, using the same expression, is called קדש ליהוה "holiness to the Lord," being taken metaphorically, but of the gains of commerce carried on by a God-fearing people. One may compare in English the different ideas conveyed by the word "enthusiasm," or, in the English of the King James' Version, the use of the verb "to lust"—in Deut. 14, 2: "Boy, whatever thy soul lusteth after, eat before the Lord and rejoice,"—with the frequent use of the verb to

indicate sin in the N. T. So in the Prayer Book we find the expression "*sinful* lusts." Then in Jud. 2, 17 occurs the expression "to go a whoring after other gods," which is paralleled in the next verse but one with the expression "to follow other gods." The significance of the expression "strange gods" and "other gods" has already been referred to, as if the use of *zanáh* was not in itself a condemnation. In other passages already mentioned in Lev. and Num. the phrase indicates merely a running after anything, as we might speak of a temporary fad; an eager following of whatever caught the fancy or pleased the eyes, a self-indulgence; and so a fickleness and instability.

The original meaning of *zanáh*, like Assyrian *zanânu*, may be that of fulness and luxuriousness,[1] developing like the Latin *luxuria* or *luxuries* which in the Scholastic Latin of the Middle Ages has a sense akin to *fornicatio*. It may be noted that a number of verbs in Hebrew seemed to the Masorites too objectionable to be read, e. g. שגל,[2] and were replaced by a קרי but *zanáh* is not one of them.

We may conclude then that among the Hebrews *the metaphorical use of zanáh did not convey any opprobrium*, but always requires a context to determine its significance; and therefore, such a phrase as the AV. uses is not only offensive to our ears but fails to do justice to the Hebrew, which requires a word having a good sense, such as, e. g., to follow, run after, desire, etc.

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[1] Cf. Crit. Notes on Judges in *The Polychrome Bible*, p. 67, l. 44.

[2] The word שִׁגָּל is not derived from this word, but must be connected with שִׁגָּר *dam* and Assyr. *šigrêti* 'ladies of the harem'; see Crit. Notes on Ezra-Neh. in *The Polychrome Bible*, p. 66, l. 46; p. 67, l. 11. Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesestüchs*[4], p. 187.

Gideon's Water-lappers.—By Rev. Wm. B. McPherson, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

The familiar story of Gideon's campaign against the Midianites —nomad Arabs of the Syro-Arabian Desert, southeast of Palestine—tells how this Manassite hero gathered a force of 32,000 men and led them to the Plain of Jezreel, where were encamped the oppressors of Israel.

This force, however, was too great for Jhvh's purpose, and after sending home all the timid, which brought down the number to 10,000, He said to Gideon: "The people are still too many; lead them down to the water that I may separate them for thee there .... So he led the people down to the water; and Jhvh said to Gideon: All those who lap water with their tongues, as a dog laps, thou shalt set by themselves; and all those who kneel down to drink, thou shalt set by themselves. And the number of those who lapped, putting their hand to their mouth, amounted to three hundred; all the rest of the people knelt down to drink. And Jhvh said to Gideon: By the three hundred men who lapped I will deliver you and will give Midian into your power; all the rest of the people shall return whence they came (Jud. 7, 1–7).

Although this incident is familiar to all readers of the Bible, the significance of the test does not seem to be quite clear; cf. President Moore's remarks on this passage in *The Polychrome Bible* (New York, 1898). In his admirable commentary on *Judges* (New York, 1895), p. 202, Dr. Moore assumes that those whose drinking is compared to the lapping of a dog threw themselves flat on the ground with their face to the water, and actually lapped with their tongue. In accordance with this idea he considers the expression בידם אל פיהם *putting their hand to their mouth*, in the middle of verse 6, to be a misplaced gloss, and transposes it to the end of the verse; thus making it refer to those who knelt down to drink, because he thinks, to lap with the tongue, and to raise water to the mouth with the hand, are the two different ways of drinking which are here distinguished. This transposition was first suggested by the Dutch scholar A. van Doorninck in his contributions to the textual criticism of

Jud. 1–16.[1] Professor Budde, in his book on the composition and structure of Judges and Samuel,[2] suggested that the clause *putting their hands to their mouth* should be transferred to the end of verse 5; but in his commentary on Judges in Professor Marti's series (Freiburg i. B., 1897) he adopts the view of Dr. Moore, placing it at the end of verse 6.

This explanation of the passage is also given by Stade in an article published in vol. 16 of his *Zeitschrift* (Giessen, 1896), where he says on p. 185: One category lap water with their tongues like dogs; the others kneel and draw water. It is further adopted by Nowack in the latest commentary on Judges (Göttingen, 1900), in his *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament.*

The transposition of the clause *putting their hands to their mouth*, advocated by all these distinguished commentators, is based on the opinion that it is at variance with the expression *with their tongue* in the preceding verse; that men who lap like a dog cannot be said to lap putting their hand to their mouth; but if any change is to be made, it would seem more natural, as was suggested during the interpretation of the passage in the Semitic Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University, to transpose the expression בלשונו *with their tongue;* a human being can hardly lap water with his tongue; the only way a man could imitate the lapping of a dog would be by using his hand instead of the tongue of the dog.

An excellent illustration of this peculiar method of hasty drinking was cited by Stade in his article on the subject mentioned above. He quotes from the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund* (Oct. 1895), where Mr. A. Moody Stuart says: "One afternoon, in riding leisurely out of Funchal, in the Island of Madeira, there came towards the town a man in the light garb of a courier from the mountains running at the top of his speed; as he approached me, he stopped to quench his thirst at a fountain, in a way that at once suggested the lapping of Gideon's men, and I drew up my pony to observe his action more exactly; but he was already away as on the wings of the wind, leaving me to wonder and admire. With one knee bent before him, and the other limb stretched behind in the same attitude as he ran and with his face upward toward heaven, he threw

[1] *Bijdrage tot de Tekstkritiek van Richteren i–xvi*, 1879.

[2] *Die Bücher Richter und Samuel, ihre Quellen und ihr Aufbau* (Giessen, 1890).

the water apparently with his fingers in a continuous stream through his open lips without bringing his hand nearer to his mouth than perhaps a foot and a half, and so satisfied his thirst in a few minutes. It is true, Stade thinks, this manner of drinking has not the "slightest resemblance to the lapping of a dog," but such a conclusion seems unwarranted. When a dog laps water he drinks hastily in contrast to the slow drinking of a horse or other animals that drink with their mouth in the water. This seems to be exactly the point of resemblance between the hasty drinking of the courier and the lapping of a dog, thus making the expression *those who lap water as a dog laps* equivalent to *those who drink hastily.*

This is the explanation given by Josephus in his Ant., V, 6, 3, who says, the distinctive feature of the drinking of those whose drinking is compared to the lapping of a dog, lay in the haste with which they drank; but he attributes this haste to fear of the enemy or to laziness.

Keil, in his commentary on Judges (Leipzig, 1874), says the water-lappers are the most valiant and courageous of the warriors, who, before a battle, do not take their time in kneeling down at a brook and drinking leisurely; but standing, with their armor on, they draw some water with their hands to strengthen themselves for the fray, and then they rush against the enemy. But it is not necessary to suppose that they drank standing, or that they drew water with their hands and afterwards lapped it out of[1] their hands with their tongue like dogs. Dogs do not draw water with their forepaws, and lap it afterwards from their forepaws.

Bertheau in his commentary (Leipzig, 1883) says on this passage, the 300 men do not take time to kneel down and drink with ease but draw water with their hands, standing probably in full armor, and then lap the water with their tongues like dogs. They are eager to fight and always ready for it, they do not give up their warlike attitude for a moment. They did not drink out of pitchers or out of their helmets, but standing, drawing the water out of their hands.

In his note on Jud. 7, 6, in *The Polychrome Bible,* Dr. Moore suggests that those who lapped like dogs were thus discovered to be rude, fierce men.

[1] For this interpretation of בירם see Gesenius-Kautzsch[26] § 119, m footnote.

In all these comments the element of haste is recognized as the distinctive feature in the drinking of those who are said to lap, and this view of the case is borne out by the Arabic proverbial expression for a sudden, hasty war, *a campaign like the lapping of a wolf* (غزو كولغ الذئب; see Mez's paper cited below). Even in English we have a suggestion of the element of haste in the Scotch idiom *a lick of sugar*, *a lick of oatmeal*, etc. With this is to be compared the German *schlabbern* or *schlubbern*, 'to lap as a dog in drinking,' and its English equivalents *slabber*, *slobber*, *slubber*, and *slaver*, 'to eat hastily or in a slovenly manner.'

In contrast with those who *lapped*, i.e. drank hastily, are כל אשר יכרע על ברכיו לשתות *those who bowed down on their knees to drink*. But כרע does not mean simply *to bow down;* it meant originally, as is quite clear in Arabic, *to put the mouth into the water, to take up water from its place* (in a spring, stream, well, or a vessel) *with the mouth* (كرع فى الماء او فى الاناء اذا تناوله بفيه من موضعه). This specific meaning of כרע[1] has been pointed out by Professor Mez, of Basle, in a note on Jud. 7, 5, 6 published in the current number of Stade's *Zeitschrift*.

This method of drinking may, of course, be combined with a kneeling position; in fact, among the rural population of certain parts of our country it is quite commonly done. I have often seen the negroes in our Southern States drink in just this manner. Coming to some spring or to the bank of some running stream, they throw themselves down on their knees, and stooping over, with part of the weight resting upon their hands, until they can thrust the mouth into the water, they take long, eager draughts until their thirst is fully satisfied. The hands are not used to dip up water and convey it to the mouth, but to support the body, so that the drinker can bring his mouth into contact with the water and yet be in no danger of falling over. In other instances where the nature of the ground makes it impracticable to use the hands to support the body, the drinker throws himself flat on the earth, and so brings his mouth down to the level of the water. That כרע may have this latter meaning, *to lie down flat*, is shown in Job 31, 10:

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[1] In the same way ירד meant originally, like the corresponding ورد, *to go down to the water* (cf. Jud. 7, 5) and Assyr. *kašâdu* 'to arrive' (a denominative verb from *kišâdu* 'shore') *to land;* cf. Haupt in Schrader's *KAT.*[2] 506, s. v.

תטחן לאחר אשתי ועליה יכרעון אחרין׃

Let my wife grind (do the lowest service) *to another,*
And let others lie down upon her.

The position assumed is immaterial: the person may kneel, or he may stretch himself flat on the ground; the essential point is that he be able to reach the water with his mouth.

It is possible that על ברכיו *upon his knees* is a later scribal expansion; and, according to the familiar Hebrew idiom of expressing the main idea by the infinitive following the finite verb, we must translate אשר כרע לשתות, not *who* (*bows down* or rather) *puts his mouth in the water to drink*, but *who drinks putting his mouth in the water.*[1] This gives us the point of contrast, and the test by which the men were divided: those who knelt down and drank leisurely like a horse, and those who drank hastily as a dog that laps.

Similar tests by water are not wanting in Semitic literature: in the pseudepigraphic Book of *The Rest of the Words of Baruch*, it is related that the prophet Jeremiah was directed to lead the Jewish exiles in Babylonia out to the Jordan to find out by the water of the Jordan who was to return to Jerusalem and who should remain in Babylon.[2] In the story of Bilqîs, the Arabic name of the Queen of Sheba, one of her devices for proving the wisdom of Solomon was to send him a number of her followers, the men dressed as women, the women as men, to see if he could

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[1] So, too, דבר לאמר *he said speaking*, i. e. *orally*, not in writing (במכתב); see Crit. Notes on Numbers, in *The Polychrome Bible*, p. 53, n. 1.

[2] See Dillmann's *Chrestomathia Aethiopica*, p. 9, l. 25; p. 121, ll. 9, 14. For *Iôrdânôs* we would expect *Êfrâṭês;* but the author of the book is no doubt responsible for *Jordan* in this connection. See also J. Rendel Harris' edition of the Greek text of this Christian apocalypse (London, 1889) p. 57 (6, 23; cf. 8, 2, 4): Δοκιμάσεις δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου· ὁ μὴ ἀκούων φανερὸς γενήσεται· τοῦτο τὸ σημεῖόν ἐστι τῆς μεγάλης σφραγῖδος. At the end of the Ethiopic text of Baruch's letter we must, with Professor Haupt, read *zaiạ'ábî*, and two lines above, *fĕnôtômû* must be canceled as a corrupt dittogram of the following *fĕtnômû*. At the beginning of the letter, *ba'ĕnta* can hardly be explained as an equivalent of امّا بعد (see Crit. Notes on Ezra-Nehemiah in *The Polychrome Bible*, p. 62, l. 14); it is probably nothing but a corruption of *kamazé;* cf. *Chr. Aeth.*, p. 11, l. 3. In the seventh line of the letter (*Chr. Aeth.*, p. 9, l. 17) we must substitute *nagára* for *gabra;* and in the following line, *em'abîḭ ĕtôn* must be inserted between *Qĕbç* and *ĕsât*.

discover their sex. The king ordered basins of water brought in, and noticing that some poured the water gently over their arms and faces, concluded that they were women ; while he knew that the others who boldly dashed the water over themselves were men.[1]

The text of Jud. 7, 5, 6 nowhere states that those who lapped lay down on the ground to do so ; this is an arbitrary assumption on the part of those who suppose that Gideon's followers actually lapped with their tongues. Much more probably they remained upon their feet, simply bending down until they could reach the water and dip it up with their hands as is explained in verse 6. To drink *putting the mouth into the water*, a man puts aside his weapons, ceases to be on the lookout for an enemy, drinks slowly and so deeply as to produce a feeling of heaviness. On the other hand, he who *laps*, using his hand to convey the water to his mouth as a dog uses his tongue, may hold his weapons in his right hand while using his left to dip up the water, and naturally drinks much more hastily than the man who gets down on his knees and sucks up water with his mouth.

As we have seen, the transposition of the expression בידם אל־פיהם *putting their hand to their mouth* in Jud. 7, 6 is unnecessary; it is sufficient to transpose בלשונו *with the tongue* in the preceding verse, inserting it after הכלב *the dog*, as a man cannot lap water with his tongue.[2] Then the text would read: Jhvh said to Gideon, All those who lap water as a dog laps with his tongue, thou shalt set by themselves. And all those who drink (like horses) putting their mouth into the water thou shalt set by themselves. And the number of the water-lappers, i. e. those who drank hastily, conveying the water to their mouth with their hands, was 300 men: all the rest of the people drank (like horses) putting their mouths into the water.

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[1] See Socin's *Arabic Grammar*, English edition (Karlsruhe, 1885), p. 63, ll. 11 ff. of the Chrestomathy ; Brünnow's *Chrestomathy of Arabic Prose-Pieces* (Berlin, 1895), p. 14, ll. 16 ff. Cf. Gustav Rösch, *Die Königin von Saba als Königin Bilqîs* (Leipzig, 1880), pp. 32, 49.

[2] It is possible, however, that בידם אל פיהם , בלשונו are merely subsequent scribal expansions.

An Early Egyptian Cylinder.—By Mr. James T. Dennis, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

While on a visit to Egypt a few years ago, I came into possession of a very interesting stone cylinder. I obtained it from a native at the town of Akhmîm, not far from Abydos; and the recent discoveries of early Egyptian civilization in that locality, together with the archaic character of the figures engraved on the cylinder, lead me to refer it to a very early period.

In length the cylinder is about 1½ inches; surface measurements 1½ by 2½ inches; and it is carved roughly out of a brownish, somewhat porous stone resembling steatite. Through the center is an irregularly-bored hole about ⅛ inch in diameter, and the surface is engraved with seven curious designs. The late Dr. Brugsch-Bey, to whom I showed it on returning to Cairo several weeks later, told me it was a genuine antique, and very rare; and Dr. W. Max Müller, of Philadelphia, to whom I sent a wax impression, concurs, but thinks it merely pictographic and that there are no signs that can be read.

It is difficult to determine where the pictures begin, but they occur in the following order.—Fig. 1. Apparently a donkey, or some long-eared quadruped, facing to the left. The forelegs are represented by mere dashes, but the hind legs by double lines, showing some idea of outline on the part of the carver.

Above the back is a figure (No. 2) resembling a bow, with a short arrow, not barbed, pendant from a cord.—Figure 3 cannot be identified,—a long object pointed at the lower end, the other end apparently an open mouth, with two small horns on the left side: it is crossed by three parallel strokes, each terminating on the right in a three-pronged barb.—Above this is a rough cross (Fig. 4) resembling the NEIT sign in the name of King Mer-Neit, lately discovered at Abydos.—Following this figure, we find (Fig. 5) a roughly formed semi-circle, the ends joined by a line, and the whole crossed by what is apparently an arrow ending in a large round head, pointing downward.—Beneath, and a little to the right, is Fig. 6: the only one that approaches a known hieroglyphic sign—an ANKH sign of life.—Above this occurs the last figure on the cylinder—a lozenge-shaped design, crossed by two lines from corner to corner. The right end of this figure lies between the head and forefeet of the quadruped first mentioned.

Whether the cylinder was an amulet—to bring good fortune, perhaps, in hunting—or for what purpose it was intended, I am not at present prepared to say. I have gladly granted permission to Dr. W. Max Müller to publish the cylinder in the *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, of Berlin.

A Rare Royal Cartouche.—By Mr. JAMES T. DENNIS, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

IN view of the fact that the past two or three years have seen several new names added to the list of the rulers of Ancient Egypt, I venture to present a description of a scarab from my collection, obtained by me recently in Egypt, which apparently bears the cartouche of a king heretofore unknown. To what dynasty it belongs cannot be affirmed with certainty; but most probably it comes somewhere in the Middle Empire.

The scarab itself is a fraction over an inch in length, and rather flatter than are most of the scarabs I have seen. The inscription and all the carvings, front and back, are deeply incised; and, in places, bitumen still adheres to the surface. The extreme blackness of this incrustation and the general style of the workmanship are among the causes which have led me to place it between the XII and XVIII dynasties. It was obtained by me near Bedrashên, a small village above Cairo not far from the ruins of Memphis.

The upper third of the inscription is taken up with a very conventionalized form of the bee (BITI), the title used by the Pharaohs. The wings of the bee are triangular, and are detached from the thorax, as is also the hinder part of the insect. Beneath this sign, down the center of the scarab, stands the symbol of *stability*, the Nilometer, phonetically DED. Beneath this, and conforming to the curve of the base of the scarab, is the sign for *lord*, the basket NEB. The signs written on both sides of the Nilometer are the same, and are written beneath the bee; they are the chessboard, phonetically MEN, written with the complementary *n* following; and beneath this are two circles. If this be the name of the king, it should be accompanied by another sign, *viz.*, that for STN, *king*, in front of the bee; and in fact, although the scarab is broken here, there is sufficient space for this sign between the bee and the margin of the scarab, and the traces of another character are actually visible. The whole is surrounded by a rough beading, which is quite rare on scarabs, but has been found on a few of the Middle Empire, thus furnishing another reason for assigning it to that period of Egyptian history.

The Modern Chaldeans and Nestorians, and the Study of Syriac among them.—By Rev. Gabriel Oussani, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Much has been written about the modern Chaldeans and Nestorians of Kurdistan, Persia, and Mesopotamia in the works of Rich,[1] Boré,[2] Ainsworth,[3] Perkins,[4] Grant,[5] Layard,[6] Badger,[7] Martin,[8] Rassam,[9] Sachau,[10] and Müller-Simonis and Hyvernat,[11] but little or nothing has been published about the study of Syriac among them; it may be interesting, therefore, to learn something about this subject. My information is based on personal observations made several years ago, when I had an opportunity to visit the modern Chaldeans and Nestorians in their inaccessible mountains.

The so-called Nestorians in the mountains of Kurdistan, the plains of Upper Mesopotamia, and Persia may be considered either as a religious sect, or as a people. As a religious sect, they are the followers of the doctrine of Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople (428–431 A. D.) As a people, they are the descendants of the ancient Eastern Syrians.

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[1] *Narrative of a residence in Kurdistan, and on the site of Ancient Nineveh* (London, 1836), 2 vols.

[2] *Correspondance et mémoires d'un voyageur en Orient* (Paris, 1836), 2 vols.

[3] *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia* (London, 1842), 2 vols.

[4] *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians* (New York), 1843.

[5] *The Nestorians or The Lost Tribes* (London, 1841).

[6] *Nineveh and its Remains with an Account of a Visit to the Chaldean Christians of Kurdistan and the Yezidis* (London, 1854), 6th edition.

Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, with Travels in Armenia, Kurdistan (London, 1853).

[7] *The Nestorians and their Rituals* (London, 1852), 2 vols.

[8] *La Chaldée. Esquisse historique* (Rome, 1867).

[9] *Assur and the Land of Nimrod* (New York, 1897).

[10] *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien* (Leipzig, 1883).

[11] *Du Caucase au Golf Persique, a travers l'Armenie, le Kurdistan et la Mesopotamie* (Washington, 1892).

The Nestorians of Kurdistan live to-day among their enemies, the Kurds. There is little difference between the Christian Nestorians and the Mohammedan Kurds. They are very simple and ignorant; even their priests have very little education. They lead a miserable life, and give themselves little concern about the education of their flocks. They are, however, held in high esteem by their people, who are very much attached to their creed.

The Nestorians in the mountains are governed by hereditary village sheiks known as *Meliks* ('Kings', cf. the *Kings* of the Canaanites in the Books of Joshua, etc.). The patriarch, residing at Kotchânes, near Julamerg, always bears the name of Mâr Shim'ôn (i. e. Lord Simeon). He possesses great influence and has also civil jurisdiction over the independent tribes. The patriarchal dignity is hereditary in one family: the woman destined to be the mother of the future patriarch must refrain, during the period of gestation, from eating flesh, and the patriarch himself must abstain from meat for ever.

The Nestorians in Persia live under essentially different conditions, the majority of them being settled in the rich and fruitful plain around the city and lake of Urmia. The date of their settlement in this region is not known, but Urmia is mentioned as early as the 10th century as the see of a Nestorian bishop. The Nestorians in the mountains may have gradually advanced eastwards into the plain, where they found more favorable conditions. Both the Nestorians of Persia and their brethren in Kurdistan are poor, for a large portion of the ground belongs to the Mohammedans.

The Catholic missions, conducted by the missionaries of St. Vincent de Paul (Lazarists), have worked very successfully among them, and there is now a Chaldean Catholic archbishopric in Urmia, a bishopric in Khosrova, and a third one in Sina. Since 1831 the field has been especially worked by the Protestant American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. They have sought to accomplish their purpose by utilizing, through the clergy, the actually existing church, and by founding schools and establishing printing offices.

It has been asserted that the Nestorians of Persia have a Jewish type, and some travelers (as Asahel Grant)[1] have attempted

[1] In his book *The Nestorians or The Lost Tribes* (2d ed., London, 1843).

to identify these Nestorians with the lost tribes of Israel; but this theory is both historically and ethnographically untenable.

During the last three centuries many of the Nestorians of Kurdistan and Persia have joined the Roman Catholic Church, keeping, however, their customs, language, and ecclesiastical rites. These Roman Catholic Nestorians are scattered in Môsul, Karkûk, Baghdâd, Mardîn, Diârbekr, Se'ert, Zakho, Aḳra, Urmia, Salmas, and they are now usually called *Chaldeans*, the name of *Nestorians* being restricted to their non-Catholic brethren.

The Nestorians of Kurdistan and Persia number about 150,000. They have about 250 churches, one patriarch, 12 archbishops and bishops, and about 300 priests. The number of Chaldeans is about 100,000, with about 150 churches, one patriarch, who bears the title of *Chaldean Patriarch of Babylon*, 13 archbishops and bishops, and about 250 priests.

The Nestorians of Kurdistan and Persia, it may be added, have not adopted the name *Nestorians*, but call themselves *Sûriâiê* 'Syrians.' Their patriarch bears the title of *Patriarch of the Chaldeans.*

The language spoken by the Nestorians of Kurdistan and Persia, as well as of those in Môsul, Upper Mesopotamia, and Persia, who have joined the Roman Catholic Church, is a modern form of the ancient Syriac and varies considerably in the different provinces where it is spoken. This dialect is generally called *Fellêḥi* in Mesopotamia, and *Sûrîth* or *Sûriâiâ* in Kurdistan. In the villages around Môsul it contains many Arabic words; in the Tiyyâri and Ḥakkari mountains, we find a number of Kurdish loanwords, and in and around Urmia, Salmas, and Sina we find several words borrowed from Persian. The people who speak the first two dialects understand each other better than the third dialect. The dialect of the low country has greatly suffered from phonetic decay, while that of the mountaineers preserves many of the older forms, and is pronounced with greater correctness. All these different dialects have been carefully studied and discussed by Stoddard, Nöldeke, Prym and Socin, Guidi, MacLean, Gottheil, Sachau and many others.

When the Arabs invaded the territories of the Persian empire, spreading their new faith over Asia, the Chaldeo-Nestorian church was already powerful in the East. Even in Arabia its missionaries had gained extensive influence. Mohammed himself may have received the Biblical and Christian traditions

embodied in the Korân, from the Nestorians in Arabia. The story of his connection with Sergius or Baḥîra, a Nestorian monk, is well known.

The success of the Nestorian missionaries through all Asia is a splendid testimony to their activity and learning. The sees of their metropolitans and bishops were scattered over the continent from the shores of the Caspian to the Chinese Sea and from the northernmost boundaries of Scythia to the southern extremity of the Indian peninsula: Chaldea, Assyria, Armenia, Syria, Arabia, Asia Minor, Egypt, Cyprus, Persia, Parthia, Media, China, India Tartary and Mongolia. Their churches were almost innumerable, and their faith was conspicuous by the number and sanctity of their monks and martyrs. At the time of the Arab invasion the learning of the East was found chiefly among the Nestorians. Their knowledge and skill gained them favor with the Caliphs, and they became their treasurers, scribes and physicians. They were the teachers and masters of the Arabs in all sciences, grammar, rhetoric, poetry, dialectics, arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy and medicine. But after the fall of the Caliphs the power of the Nestorian church in the East rapidly declined. The sect was persecuted by the Tatar sovereigns. But their final reduction to a few scattered remains in the provinces of Assyria must be attributed to the merciless Tatar conqueror Timur (or Tamerlane, 1333–1405 A.D.). He persecuted them with relentless fury; destroyed their churches, their monasteries, their schools, and put to the sword all who were unable to escape to the almost inaccessible fastnesses of the Kurdish mountains, where they are settled to this day.

The extinction among them of parochial schools (once a matter of great importance with them, as appears from the decrees of many provincial Synods) caused a dearth of learned men, grammarians and copyists, thus entailing the loss of many valuable works, as there were but few men capable of copying the ancient manuscripts. At the present day, apart from some priests and bishops, there are among the Nestorians of Kurdistan scarcely 40 individuals able to copy an old Syriac manuscript with the requisite correctness. As they possess no knowledge of the ancient language, their copies are generally full of inaccuracies. The classic Syriac is not understood by the laymen in the mountains, and even the priests can hardly do more then read and explain it. Correspondence in classical Syriac is kept up

by a very few of the clergy, who, however, frequently introduce modern elements. The only books which they read and study are the church rituals, all other manuscripts being mostly in the possession of the Nestorians of Persia, the American missionaries of Urmia, and in the Chaldean Catholic churches and monasteries of Môsul, Alḳôš, Telkêph, Diârbekr, Se'ert and Mardîn. The majority of ancient Syriac manuscripts are now preserved in the public and private libraries and museums of Europe. I have not heard of a single modern author among them. To be able to read the service book and the church rituals, and to write a tolerable hand, is considered the very acme of education, and this is all that is required of candidates for holy orders.

"While at 'Asheêtha," says Badger in his *Nestorians and their Rituals*, "I had an opportunity of seeing the Archdeacon give this kind of instruction to several youths, who were destined to become deacons. Five sat down round a psalter, placed upon a low stool, in such a way, that to two, at least, the book was upside down. The best reader led the way and the rest followed his voice and finger as he pointed to the place where he was reading. The Archdeacon would occasionally stop and explain the meaning of a difficult passage or word which he supposed they could not understand." What Badger saw 50 years ago in 'Asheêtha, I observed repeatedly in many villages of Kurdistan and even in the villages around Môsul.

The Nestorians of Persia, on the other hand, are better educated. Since 1850 a decided improvement has taken place. Formerly out of two hundred Nestorians hardly two or three could read and write Syriac; but the proportion is now much higher. The bishops, the priests, and a good many laymen of the Nestorians in Persia know classical Syriac, not, to be sure, scientifically, but traditionally. They can read and copy readily and correctly an unpointed text, and they can even write letters in classical Syriac. Their favorite authors are the famous Mâr Marûtha of Maipherkat, St. Ephrem, Narsai, James of Sarûg, Warda, Abdîsho' of Soba and some other later writers of minor importance. But the first place among the books which they read and study is occupied by the Old and New Testament (the Pshîtâ),[1] and their church rituals (*Ḥudra*, *Gazza*, *Kashkûl*, *Ktâvâ*

[1] For this name of the ancient Syriac version of the Bible cf. Dr. Isaac Hall's remarks on p. iv of the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society* at New York, October, 1882; see also Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* § 26, B.

daqdâm wadwâthar), which form a splendid collection of sacred selections from the most distinguished Nestorian writers and doctors from the IVth to the XVIIth century. Many priests know a considerable portion of the church rituals by heart. All these prayers are never said in private but publicly in the churches, and bishops, priests, deacons, subdeacons, other lower orders, and the people take part in them.

The Chaldeans, or Roman Catholic Nestorians, are still living under much better conditions than their brethren in Kurdistan and Persia. "If we compare," says Badger, "the present condition of the Chaldean community with the condition of their Nestorian brothers, justice demands that we should acknowledge the superiority of the former in civilization, general intelligence and ecclesiastical order, because the Chaldeans have profited by their communion and intercourse with Rome from whence they have learned something of European advancement, and their youths, who have been educated at the Propaganda, are undoubtedly more generally intelligent than those brought up in their own country."

Among these Chaldeans the study of Syriac occupies a prominent place and is really flourishing, every city and village of some importance having elementary schools in which the elements of Syriac are taught. The grammars are written by modern native authors. The texts are chiefly the Pshîtâ, the Church rituals, the Syrian authors mentioned above and especially the numerous Syriac texts published by the Chaldean priest Rev. Paul Bedjan from 1884 to 1900. While only the priests, and those devoted to the service of the Church, study Syriac thoroughly, there are also a number of laymen anxious to acquire some knowledge of the ancient language.

To show the development of Syriac studies among the modern Chaldean-Nestorians I give here the names of some of their most distinguished men, with their chief Syriac publications. Many of these scholars are still living, and I have known them personally. As one of the most learned men we must mention the Patriarch

I. *Ebedjesus Georgius V Khaiiât*

who died, two years ago, at Baghdâd. He had a truly comprehensive knowledge of the language, literature, history and liturgy of the Chaldeo-Nestorian Church. To him we owe a great num-

ber of the Syriac MSS. existing in the Museo Borgiano of the Propaganda at Rome,[1] in the Vatican Library and in the private collections of Wright, Lamy, Abbeloos and Bedjan.

In conjunction with the late Monsignor Clemens David, Syrian Archbishop of Damascus, he published (1) *Biblia Sacra Syriaca Veteris et Novi Testamenti iuxta Versionem Simplicem vulgo Pschitta dictam*, 3 vols in 4°, Mansili, 1887–1891.

(2) In his *Éléments de grammaire et de lecture en langue Syriaque* (Môsul, 1869), *Imprimerie des Chaldéens* he published for the first time, several *memrê* or discourses of St. Ephrem, Narsai, Mâr Timotheus of the IX. century, etc.

He is also the author of (3) *Kthâvâ daqdâm wadwâthar*, i. e. Daily Prayers of the Chaldean Church (Môsul, 1866).

(4) *Liber Psalmorum* (*Kthâvâ dmazmûre de Dâwîd*) *cum canonibus* (Môsul, 1866).

(5) *Breviarium Chaldaicum* (in 3 vols.) edited by Bedjân (Paris, 1886–1887).

(6) *Syri Orientales, seu Chaldei, Nestoriani et Romanorum Pontificum primatus. Commentatio historico-philologico-theologica . . . . accedunt appendices duæ . . . .* (Romæ, 1870). In this famous book, which was written during the Vatican council at Rome, he published a great number of Syriac and Arabic *anecdota*.

(7) Some *Pastoral Letters* addressed to the patriarch, bishops, clergy, and people of the Nestorian Church, published in Syriac, at Môsul in 1894.

We are indebted to him also for the publication of the (8) *Missale Chaldaicum*, published this year at Môsul by the Dominican press.

This distinguished prelate of the Chaldean Church devoted more than thirty years to the collection of the material and the documents for a complete *History of the Chaldeo-Nestorian Church;* but unfortunately, his notes were sold, after his death, to a Chaldean of Baghdâd, who sent them to Europe, hoping to be able to sell them to some European Museum, Library, or Syriac scholar.

II. *Mâr Elia Mellâs,*

bishop of the Chaldeans at Mardîn, is also a distinguished Syriac scholar. He has published in Syriac—

[1] Cf. *Cersoy, Les Manuscrits Orientaux de Mgr. David au Musée Borgia, de Rome* in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 9, 360–384.

(1) *Directorium Spirituale ex libris sapientalibus desumptum ab Joanne monacho Chaldæo anno 1245 et ab Elia Jo. Melloûs* (Miller) *archiepiscopo Aḳrensi auctum* (Romæ, 1868) in 8°. This volume contains about 150 religious poems in Syriac.

III. *Mâr Thoma Audo,*

at present bishop of the Chaldeans at Urmia, in Persia, is regarded as the most elegant Syriac writer of our times. His Syriac publications, some of which are translations from the French and Latin, are very numerous. The most important of them are :—

(1) *Theologia Moralis of P. Gury,* 2 vols. (Môsul, 1896) translated from the Latin.

(2) The Syriac translation of *The Catechism of the Council of Trent* (Môsul, 1889).

(3) *P. Segneri S. J. Manuale sacerdotum, in lingua Chaldaica a Damiano olim translatum, nuper vero a Thoma Audo revisum atque editum* (Mansili, 1882) in 8°.

(4) *Nieremberg, La Balance du Temps. Traduction ancienne revue et corrigée par Thoma Audo* (Môsul) in 8°.

(5) *Togni, L. Instruction pour les ministres de l'église. Traduit du Latin en langue Chaldéenne par Th. Audo* (Môsul 1895).

(6) *Kalîla et Dimna, traduit en langue Chaldéenne par Thomas Audo* (Môsul, 1895).

(7) *Dictionnaire de la langue Chaldéenne,* in 2 volumes in 4° gr. Vol. I, Môsul, 1897. The second volume of this very learned and important work, written in Syriac, is to appear this year.[1]

This distinguished Chaldean archbishop is now engaged in the publication of several other Syriac works.

IV. *Mâr Michael Nî'imo,*

formerly Chaldean bishop of Baghdâd and Basrah (died in 1896), was both an excellent Arabic and Syriac scholar. He published, in Arabic, about 70 *memrê* or festival discourses of the famous Nestorian patriarch Mâr Elia Abu-Ḥalîm Al-Hadîthi of the 13th century.

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[1] Cf. Luzac's *Oriental List,* 8, 142 and Lamy, *Rapport sur le Progrès des Études Syriaques* (1894-97) in the *Actes du Onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes, Paris, 1897, Quatrième Section* (Paris, 1898), pp. 1–25.

V. *Mâr Eremia Maḳdasi,*

at present Chaldean bishop of ʻAḳra, and a very learned and excellent Syriac scholar, has published a valuable Syriac grammar under the title *Tûrâs mamlâ Sûriâiâ*, i. e. *Éléments de grammaire Chaldéenne*, (Môsul, 1889) in 8°, and he is preparing some other Syriac publications.

Among the other Chaldean bishops we may mention

VI. *Mâr Jacob Saḥḥar,*

bishop of Zacho and Amadiyya, and

VII. *Mar Sleimân,*

bishop of Diârbekr, in Mesopotamia, especially known as an excellent Arabic scholar.

VIII. *Qaiôma Mâr Samuel Giâmil,*

at present General Procurator of the Chaldean Patriarch of Babylon at Rome, formerly Abbot of the Monastery of Rabbân Hormuzd, in Alḳosh, and an intimate friend of Guidi, Parisot, Graffin, Bedján, Chabot, and Sachau, who are indebted to him for several Syriac manuscripts which they have published, is one of the Chaldean priests most learned in the Syriac language, history, and literature. He recently published a Syriac anecdoton, with Italian translation, about the Yezîdi, i. e. the devil worshipers of Mesopotamia, under the title *Monte Singar, storia di un popolo ignoto* (Romæ, 1900) in 12°.[1] He is publishing a large collection of Syriac and Latin documents concerning the relations between the Nestorian and Chaldean Patriarchs and the Popes of Rome from the 13th century down to the present time. These documents, taken from the private archives of the Vatican library at Rome, are published in the well known Roman journal *Il Bessarion, Giornale di studî Orientali.* He possesses, furthermore, a very large collection of materials for the publication of a work about all the Nestorian writers and their works, both edited and unedited, known and unknown, or lost, which he has been diligently gathering for the last twenty years in the old monasteries and libraries of Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, and Persia.

[1] Cf. *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung*, March 15, 1901, pp. 101–6, and *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (April, 1901), p. 360.

IX. *Ḳaššîša Isrâel Audo,*

brother of the above mentioned Mâr Thoma Audo (No. III), and at present pastor of the Chaldean community at Basrah near the Persian Gulf, is the highest native authority living in Syriac grammar and lexicography. His knowledge of the ancient language is really astonishing; he possesses a great deal of material for several Syriac publications.

X. *Ḳaššîša Jacob,*

a young Chaldean priest, at present Professor of the Syriac Language, Literature and Liturgy in the Chaldean and Dominican Seminary at Môsul, is one of the most learned and active Chaldean priests in the East. He has published at Môsul, a valuable *Syriac Grammar*, and excellent *Syriac-Arabic* and *Arabic-Syriac Dictionary*, in two large volumes, and he is preparing several other publications among which we must mention an elegant Syriac translation of the *Summa Theologiæ* and *Summa Philosophiæ* of St. Thomas of Aquino.

Many other Chaldean priests might be mentioned here, e. g. Kaššîša Puṭrus Kattûla, of Telkêph; Puṭrus Nasri, of Môsul; Gabriel Ḳuriaḳôs, of Baghdâd; Stifân Gibrân, of Môsul; Puṭrus Aziz Hoh, of Môsul, at present in Aleppo, Syria; Abbé Salomon, of Salmas, Persia; Gabriél Adda, of Karkûk, Mesopotamia, etc., etc.

Special mention must be made here of the most able editor of Syriac texts of our time, the

XI. Rev. *Paul Bedjan,*

a Chaldean of Salmas in Persia, who has made his home, for several years, in Belgium. This learned Chaldean scholar began, in 1884, to publish, in the most beautiful Syriac type, a great number of Syriac texts for the use of the Chaldeans and Nestorians of the East and also for European Orientalists. His publications are very numerous, and we give here a complete list of them.

(1) *Syllabaire Chaldéen, Idiome d'Ourmiah* (Paris, 1886), 8°.

(2) *Manuel de Piété on Livre de Prières, de Méditations et des Offices en Langue Chaldéenne* (Paris, 1886); 2d ed., 1894.[1]

[1] Cf. *Orien. Literatur-blatt für Orientalische Philologie* 4, 3110.

(3) *Doctrina Christiana lingua Chaldaica idiomatis Urmiæ Persidis* (Paris, 1886).

(4) *Imitatio Christi nunc primum ex Latino in Chaldaicum idiomatis Urmiæ Persidis translata a Paulo Bedjan* (Paris, 1885).

(5) *Liber Psalmorum, horarum diurnarum ordinis officis divini et homiliarum rogationum, Chaldaice edidit P. Bedjan* (Paris, 1886).

(6) *Breviarium Chaldaicum. Edidit* Paul Bedjan, 3 vols. in 8° (Paris, 1886-1887.)[1]

(7) *Compendium Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Undecim, Syriace edidit Pâul Bedjan* (Paris, 1888).

(8) *Histoire de Joseph, poème inédit en dix livres, publié pour la première fois par Paul Bedjan* (Paris, 1887).—*Nouvelle édition, revue, corrigée, enrichie de variantes et d'un discours sur la translation du corps de Joseph par un auteur anonyme* (Paris, 1891).[2]

(9) *Chronicon Syriacum e codd. mss. emendatum ac punctis vocalibus adnotationibusque locupletatum a P. Bedjam editum* (Paris, 1890).[3]

(10) *Histoire de Mâr Jabalaha patriarche et de Rabban Çauma éditée en langue Syriaque par P. Bedjan* (Paris 1888).—*2d ed. jointe l'histoire de trois autres patriarches, d'un prêtre et de deux laïques nestoriens* (Paris, 1895).[4]

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[1] Cf. *Duval, Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 9 (1888), 81-87.

[2] Cf. *Nöldeke, Liter. Centralblatt* (Leipzig, 1888), No. 1, and *Duval, Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 9 (1888), 81-87.

[3] Cf. Nöldeke, *Literarisches Centralblatt* (Leipzig, 1891), No. 14.

[4] Cf. Van Hoonacker, *Muséon*, 8, 270; Lamy, *Bull. Ac. Belg.*, 17, 223-43; Duval, *Journal Asiatique*, 13, 8. 313-54 and 16, 113; Nöldeke, *Lit. Cbl.* 28, col. 997; Nestle, *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 16, 421; Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für. Wiss. Theol.* 39, 632; Chabot, *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 4, 415; Gottheil, *Hebraica*, 13, 222. Chabot has given a valuable French translation of this important Syriac text with notes and appendices under the title *Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III Patriarch des Nestoriens (1281-1317) et du moine Rabbân Çauma, ambassadeur du roi Argoun en Occident (1287), traduite du Syriaque et annotée avec appendices and documents* (Paris, 1895). Supplemented by *Supplément à l'histoire du Mar Jabalaha III et du moine Çauma* (Paris, 1900); cf. H. Hilgenfeld, *Textkritische Bemerkungen zur Teš'ítha d'mâr Jabalaha patriarcha wadrabban Çauma* (Jena, 1894). See also *Zeitschrift für wiss. Theologie*, 39, 634; Chabot. *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 11, 641; Duval, *Journal asiatique*, série IX, tom V, p. 371; Nöldeke, *Lit. Cbl.* 3, 95; Löhr, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 18, 546; Brockelmann, ZDMG., 49, 327; Chabot, *Revue Critique*, 21; Nestle, *Theol. Literaturzeit.* 2, 45.

(11) *Acta Sanctorum et Martyrum*, in 7 large volumes, in 8° (Paris, 1890-1897).[1]

(12) *Eusèbe de Césarée Histoire ecclesiastique édite pour la premier fois par P. Bedjan* (Paris, 1897).[2]

(13) *Bar Hebræus, Ethicon seu moralia Syriace edidit P. Bedjan* (Paris, 1898).[3]

(14) *Bar Hebræus, Nomocanon Syriace edidit P. Bedjan.* (Paris, 1898).

XII. *Joseph Guriel,*

a Chaldean priest, of Salmas, Persia (died in 1890), published the following works in Syriac:—

(1) *Thomas á Kempis, imitatio Christi; a Josepho Guriel, Persa-Chaldæo, Chaldaice editum* (Romæ, 1857).

(2) *Psalterium Chaldaicum in usum nationis Chaldaicæ editum* (Romæ, 1842).

(3) *Breviarium Chaldaicum in usum nationis Chaldaicæ editum a Josepho Guriel* (Romæ, 1865).

(4) *Elementa linguæ Chaldaicæ cui accedit series patriarcharum Chaldæorum a Josepho Guriel exarata* (Romæ, 1860).

(5) *Lectiones dogmaticæ de divini verbi incarnatione* (Romæ, 1858) in Syriac.

(6) *Manuale sacerdotum juxta ritum ecclesiæ Chaldæorum editum* (Romæ, 1858).

(7) *Ordo baptismi adultorum juxta ritum ecclesiæ Malabaricæ Chaldæorum* (Romæ, 1859).

(8) *Sex conjugationes verborum linguæ Chaldaicæ* (Romæ, 1870).

(9) *Ordo Chaldaicus ministerii sacramentorum quæ perficiuntur a sacerdotibus iuxta morem eçclesiæ Malabaricæ* (Romæ, 1845).

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[1] Cf. Nestle, *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1893, Nos. 1-2; Duval, *Revue Critique*, 19, 364; *Lit. Cbl.* 21, 761; Baethgen, *Deutsche Literaturzeit.* 19, 1609; Gottheil, *Am. Journ. of Theol.* 1, 820; *Lit. Cbl.*, 14, 449; Nestle, *Theol. Literaturzeit.* 8, 213 and 12, 312; Schulthess, GGA. 9, 665.

[2] Cf. Ermoni, *Bull. Critique*, 36, 689; *Lit. Cbl.* 15, 667; Ryssel, *Theol Literaturzeit.* 11, 296; *Independent*, 49, 1543; Brockelmann, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 37, 423.

[3] Cf. Nöldeke, *Lit. Cbl.*, 37, 1101.

(10) *Missale Chaldaico-Malabaricum* (Romæ, 1857).

(11) *Hymnus Sancti Ambrosii et Augustini a Josepho Guriel in Chaldaicum linguam translatus* (Romæ, 1856).

(12) *Ordo baptismi adultorum (Catechumenorum) iuxta ritum ecclesiæ Malabaricæ Chaldæorum* (Romæ, 1859).

XIII. *F. Louis Sheikho,*

the well-known Arabic scholar of Beirût, Syria, a Chaldean of the City of Mardîn in Mesopotamia, who afterwards entered the order of the Jesuits, edited in Arabic, about twenty published *memrê* of the Nestorian patriarch *Abu Ḥalîm* and a very interesting paper entitled *Bar Hebræus l'homme et l'écrivain suivie d'un traité inédit sur l'âme humaine* (Bayrouth, 1899).

Finally the following Syriac books have been published by

XIV. *Some Other Modern Chaldean Authors:*

(1) *Syriac First and Second Book. In Syriac and Malayalim* (Mannanam, 1888–1892).

(2) *Ṭaksa daṣlawâtha wemezmûre,* Syro-Chaldaic Book of Prayers (Mannanam, 1886).

(3) *Recueil de Chants Religieux en Langue Chaldéenne Vulgaire* (Môsul, 1896) in 8°.

(4) *Kethâva deteshmishta daḥlap 'Annîde,* Church ritual for the funerals according to the rite of the Chaldeans of Malabar in India, (Mannanam, 1882).

(5) *Chrestomathia Suryaya* (Cooneman, 1874).

(6) *Classical Syriac Grammar with Explanations in Modern Syriac* (Urmia, 1890).

(7) *Bellarminus V. R. Doctrinæ Christianæ Rudimenta in vernaculam Chaldæorum linguam Urmiensis Provinciæ translata* (Romæ, 1861).

(8) *Palakosha Abraham, Dictionary Syriac and Malayalim* (Mannanam, 1898) in 8°.

(9) *Fables en langue Chaldéenne vulgaire par Daoud l'Aveugle* (Môsul, 1896).

(10) *Enchiridion de Kahne ad usum cleri Chaldæi Malabarici edidit* G. Valiavittil (Verapoli, 1881).

(11) *Officium feriale Syriacum pro clero Syro Malabarico* (Verapoli, 1886).

(12) *Missale Chaldaicum iuxta ritum ecclesiæ Chaldæo-Malabaricæ* (Romæ, 1845).

(13) *Liber Psalmorum beati David regis et prophetæ cum canonibus* (Urmiæ, 1841).

APPENDIX.

On the Study of Syriac among the Modern Jacobites and Maronites.

(a) *The Jacobites.*

The Jacobites, the descendants of the ancient Western Syrians, are followers of the doctrine of Eutyches, whose heresy was condemned at the Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451. They live now in northern Mesopotamia, among the Catholic Syrians and Chaldeans, and are just as ignorant and uneducated as the Nestorians of Kurdistan. As far as I know, there is no author or writer among them.

The Western Syrians who have joined the Roman Catholic Church undoubtedly live under much better conditions than their heterodox brothers; nevertheless the study of Syriac among them is not much cultivated. We will mention here, however, some of their most eminent scholars together with their principal Syriac publications.

One of the most distinguished modern Jacobite scholars was the late

XV. *Monsignor Clemens Joseph David,*

Archbishop of Damascus. He was both an excellent Arabic and Syriac scholar, and his knowledge of the Syriac language, history, literature, and liturgy was greatly admired even by the most distinguished European Syriac scholars such as Wright, Nöldeke, Lamy, Abbeloos, Guidi, Ceriani, etc. His principal Syriac publications are:

(1) *Biblia Sacra iuxta Versionem Simplicem vulgo Pshitta dictam* (*edd. Monseigneur David Archevêque Syrien et Monseigneur Khayyath Archevêque Chaldéen*), 3 vols. (Mansili, 1887-1891) in 4°; 712, 681, 426 pp.

(2) *Psalterium Syriacum ad fidem plurium optimorum codicum edidit J. David* (Mansili, 1877).

(3) *Breviarium juxta ritum ecclesiæ Antiochenæ Syrorum. Syriace edidit C. J. David Archiepiscopus Damascenus Syrorum* (Mansili, 1886-1898), in seven vols., 4°.

(4) *Grammaire de la langue araméenne selon les deux dialectes syriaque et chaldaique comparé savec l'arabe l'hébreu et le*

babylonien par sa grandeur Mgr. David Archevêque Syrien de Damas. (Môsul, 1882) 1 vol.; 2d ed., considerably enlarged, with an Introduction and Appendix (Môsul, 1896-8), in 2 vols. This grammar, written in Arabic, is undoubtedly the best Syriac grammar written by a modern Syrian grammarian.

(5) *Livre de lecture syrienne,* 4th ed. (Môsul, 1891).

(6) *Antiqua ecclesiæ Syro-Chaldaicæ traditio de principatu Petri* (Romæ, 1870). A very useful and interesting book with numerous historical notes and documents.

(7) *Service de la messe privée selon le rite Syrien* (Môsul, 1868).

(8) *Lectionarium Syriacum, collectio orationum et lectionum quae in horis canonicis per totum anni decursum, excepto jejunio quadragesimali, ab ecclesiæ Syriacæ clero adhiberi solent* (Môsul, 1879).

(9) *Psalterium Syriacum iuxta Pschittam ad usum cleri ecclesiæ Antiochenæ Syrorum ediderunt J. David and J. G. Schelhot* (Mansili, 1885).

He has also written an Arabic version of the Old and New Testaments, in three volumes; an excellent Arabic grammar with Chrestomathy, in three volumes; a history of the Church, in two editions; and a volume on the language spoken by Christ, the language spoken in Syria during the Arab invasion; a volume on the Eastern liturgies; a very interesting article on the Arabic dialect of Damascus, printed in the *Journal Asiatique;* and many other books, the majority of which, however, are still unpublished.

XVI. *Behnam Benni,*

patriarch of the Syrians (died at Môsul in 1897), published *The Tradition of the Syriac Church of Antioch concerning the Primacy and the Prerogatives of St. Peter and his Successors, the Roman Pontiffs* (Môsul, 1860.) Translated into English, under the Direction of the Author, by the Rev. Joseph Galiardi (London, 1871).

XVII. *Ephraem Rahmâni,*

the present Syrian Patriarch of Antioch, an excellent Arabic and Syriac scholar, has recently published two important works:

(1) *Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi. Nunc primum edidit, Latine redidit et illustravit Ignatius Ephraem* II *Rahmani, patriarcha Antiochenus Syrorum* (Mainz, 1899).

(2) *Acta Sanctorum Martyrum Guriæ et Shamnonæ a Theophilo scripta, nunc primum edidit, Latine vertit et illustravit*

Ignatius Ephraem II Rahmani patriarcha Antiochenus Syrorum (Romæ, 1899).

The Maronites.

The Maronites in Syria and Mt. Lebanon form a branch of the Syrian Churches of the East. The study of the Syriac language and literature was first introduced in Europe by five learned Maronites, viz :

XVIII. *Abraham Ecchellensis,*

who published the *Linguæ Syriacæ sive Chaldaicæ perbrevis institutio ad eiusdem nationis studiosos adolescentes* (Romæ, 1628) in 12°, and the *Tractatus continens catalogum librorum Chaldæorum, tam ecclesiasticorum quam profanorum* of Ebedjesus of Soba (Romæ, 1653), and many other useful Syriac works.

XIX. *Isaac Sciadrensis,*

who published *Grammatica linguæ Syriacæ* (Romæ, 1636).

The two famous *Assemani*, viz:

XX. *Joseph Simonius Assemani,*

the famous author of the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* and of many other valuable Syriac books, and

XXI. *Stephanus Evodius Assemani,*

author of *Bibliothecæ Apostolicæ Vaticanæ Codicum Manuscriptorum Catalogus* and *Acta Sanctorum Martyrum Orientalium et Occidentalium*, and many other books, and finally

XXII. *P. Petrus Benedictus, S. J.,*

who published, in conjunction with Stephanus Evodius Assemani (No. xxi), *Ephræmi Syri opera omnia quæ exstant Græce, Syriace, Latine, in sex tomos distributa.*

The study of Syriac among the modern Maronites is certainly not flourishing, and the way so gloriously opened by the six illustrious Maronites mentioned above has unfortunately not been followed by the modern Maronites, who seem to be interested in the study of Arabic, in which they have made great strides, rather than in Syriac. Nevertheless there are still some accomplished and very learned Syriac scholars, among them, e. g.

XXIII. *P. Gabriel Cardahi,*

who has published the following Syriac works:

(1) *Liber thesauri de arte poetica Syrorum nec non de eorum poetarum vitis et carminibus per P. D. Gabrielem Cardahi Maronitam e Libano* (Romæ, 1875).

(2) *Al 'Yḥkâm seu linguæ et artis metricæ Syrorum institutiones auctore P. Gabriele Cardahi Libanensis, linguarum Arabicæ et Syriacæ in Collegio Urbano de Propaganda Fide professore* (Romæ, 1880) in 8°. A second edition of this work is in press.

(3) *Ebedjesus Sobensis. Paradisus Eden, primum Syriace edidit et notis Arabicis instruxit Gabriel Cardahi,* vol. 1 (Beyrouth, 1889).

(4) *Al-Lobab, seu Dictionarium Syro-Arabicum* (Beyrouth, 1887–1891) 2 vols., in 8°, pp. 620 and 701.

(5) *Bar Hebræus Abulfaragius. Kithâbha Dhiyawnâ, seu Liber Columbæ. Syriace edidit Gabriel Cardahi* (Romæ, 1899).

XXIV. *Joseph Debs,*

Maronite Archbishop of Beyrouth, has published two books, in Arabic, concerning Syria and the Syro-Maronite Church, viz.

(1) *Confutationes contra assertiones sacerdotis Joseph David Syri* (in Arabic). *Latine vertit H. N. Dahdah* (Beryti, 1871).

(2) *Kitâb târîkh Sâriyâ* (in Arabic), i. e. History of Syria, in 4 vols., three of which were issued at Beyrouth, 1893–99.

He has published also another book (in French) about the permanent union of the Maronites with the Roman Catholic Church, which was presented as a Memoir to the last International Congress of Catholics, held in Rome, 1900.

XXV. *P. Joannis Notayn Darauni,*

a Maronite priest, published *Carmen de Divina Sapientia, auctore celeberrimo viro Abulfaragio Gregorio Bar Hebræo. Accedunt adnotationes et interpretationes* (Romæ, 1880).

XXVI. *P. Augustinus Scebabi,*

a Maronite monk, has published *Gregorii Abulpharagii Bar Hebræi Carmina, cum lexico* (Romæ, 1877).

XXVII. *G. Risio*

is the author of *Al-Kitab, scilicet grammatica et Ars Metrica linguæ Syriacæ* (Beryti, 1897).

A complete and detailed history of the Syrian Maronites has been written by Mgr. Istîfân Ud- Dwayhi 'l- Ihdini, Patriarch of Antioch, and published in Arabic, with notes by Rashîd al-Khûri al-Shartûni (Beyrouth, 1890).

A great many ecclesiastical and liturgical Syriac books have been published by Maronite authors, for the use of the Maronite Church, during the last forty years, but it would require too much space to enumerate them here.

The Arabic dialect of Baghdâd.—By Rev. GABRIEL OUSSANI, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

THE modern Arabic dialects are very numerous, but the most important are those spoken in Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Barbary, and Morocco. That of Mesopotamia varies somewhat according as it is spoken in Baghdâd, Môsul, Diârbekr, or Mardîn. I shall discuss here the Baghdâd dialect only, inasmuch as, so far as I know, nobody has, hitherto, treated it.[1]

In the present paper I must confine myself to some rough notes on the principal phonetic, morphological and lexicographical peculiarities, reserving a complete and systematic study of the Baghdâd dialect for a future publication.

1. PHONOLOGICAL NOTES.

Pronunciation of Consonants.

(1) The distinction between د and ذ, ض and ظ, ت and ث is not maintained, and ذ, ض and ث are pronounced as د, ظ and ت; e. g. دهب *dáhab* instead of ذهب *gold*, فظّة *fíḍḍe* instead of فضّة *silver*, and توب *tób* instead of ثوب *cloth*; while in Egypt and Syria ث, ذ, ض and ظ are always pronounced respectively as *s*, *z*, and *ẓ*: *záhab*, *fizze*, *sóḅ*.

(2) ج is pronounced *j*, not *g* as in Egypt, e. g. جبل *jébel* 'mountain,' جمل *jémel* 'camel.'

(3) ر is pronounced as a guttural $r = gh = غ$, both by the Christians and Jews, e. g. غمّان, عشغة, كبيغ instead of كبير

[1] While the modern Arabic dialects of Egypt, Barbary, Tunis, Morocco, Arabia, Syria, and Damascus have been carefully studied and discussed by scholars like Spitta, Berggrem, Wahrmund, Cameron, Hartmann, Vollers, Pizzi, Nallino, Caussin de Perceval. Monseigneur Clemens T. David, Syrian Archbishop of Damascus, Huart, Socin, Meakin, Winckler (J. L. W.), Probst, Spiro, and Stumme, that of Baghdâd seems to have attracted but little attention. Newman, in his *Handbook of Modern Arabic* (London, 1866), makes some references to this dialect, but his remarks are vague, confused, and often incorrect.

great, عشرة *ten*, رمّان *pomegranate*,[1] while the Arabs and Bedouins in and around Baghdâd always pronounce the ر correctly.[2]

(4) In some cases ر and ل are interchanged, e. g. *Ingrîzi* for انكليزى *Englishman*, *qinçir* for قنصل *consul*, and *iltâbak* for ارتبك *to be confused*, and *zangîl* for زنجير, or better جنزير *chain*.[3]

(5) ك is pronounced *č*, i. e. like the English *ch* in *chain*, e. g. *čalb* for كلب *dog*, *čidib* for كذب *lie*, *čâbad* for كبد *liver*.[4]

(6) ق is pronounced as *g* in English *game*, e. g. *láglag* for لقلق *stork*, *gá'ad* for قعد *to sit down*, *gâm* for قام *to rise*, etc. We find the same change in the Babylonian cuneiform inscriptions, where words like *qaqqadu*, 'head,' *qâtu* 'hand,' *qaqqaru* 'ground,' *qardu* 'strong,' appear as *gagadu*, *gâtu*, *gagaru*, and *gardu*.[5]

(7) In some cases the ق is pronounced ج, i. e. English *j*,[6] e. g. the proper name *Jâsim* for قاسم, *jádar* for قدر *fate*, *jarîb* for قريب *near;* but ق is never pronounced at Baghdâd as *hamza*, as in Syria; they never say *'álib* for قلب *heart*, *'arîb* for قريب *near*, *'âla* for قال *he said*.[7]

(8) س and ص are often interchanged according to the well known rule of the Arabs:—اذا اجتمعت السين والقاف والسين

[1] Cf. Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, 3d edition, vol. 1, p. 6, n. *, where De Goeje states that غ is sometimes replaced by ر as in the Yemenite مضار *muḍḍâr* for مضاغ, and often in MSS. See also *Beitr. zur Assyriologie*, 3, 569, l. 4.

[2] Cf. Franz Delitzsch, *Physiologie und Musik in ihrer Bedeutung für die Grammatik besonders die hebräische* (Leipzig, 1868), p. 12.

[3] According to Dr. Moritz, the Director of the Khedivial Library at Cairo, the name زنجيرلى *zenjîrlî* is not derived from زنجير *chain*, but from سنجير *castle;* see *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* (*Mittheilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen, Königl. Museun zu Berlin*, Heft xi, Berlin, 1893), p. 61, n. 1.

[4] Contrast Wetzstein, *Sprachliches aus den Zeltlagern der syrischen Würte* (Leipzig, 1868), pp. 99 ff.

[5] Cf. Haupt, ASKT. (Leipzig, 1881), p. 168 ff.; Delitzsch, *Assyr. Grammar*, § 43.

[6] Contrast Wetzstein, l. c. p. 100.

[7] Cf. Edgar P. Allen, *On the Semitic Emphatic Consonants* in vol. 14 of this *Journal*, p. cxi.

والطاء والسين والغين والسين والصاد فأنت الخيار بها إن شئت سيّنتها وان شئت صوّدتها, i. e. *wherever* س *and* ق, س *and* ط, س *and* غ, س *and* ص *come together, you are at liberty to pronounce either* س *or* ص, e. g. مصطرة for مسطرة *ruler* (for drawing straight lines) صقط for سقط *he fell*, صطح for سطح *roof*.[1]

(9) Finally, owing to the great number of Turkish, Persian, and European words introduced into the Baghdâd dialect, there are three new consonants which do not exist in classical Arabic, viz. چ = *č*,[2] پ = *p* and ڭ = *g*, e. g. چول *čôl* 'open field, پوسطة *posṭa* 'post office,' and ڭمرك *gúmrug* 'custom house."[3] All these phonetic peculiarities apply, of course, only to the spoken language; in reading the Koran and the classical authors both Christians and Jews as well as Mohammedans pronounce the consonants more correctly than is customary in Egypt and Syria.

With respect to the *accent*, it may be noted that the Jews of Baghdâd have a tendency to put the accent on the last syllable, as in Hebrew, but this is not done by the Christians and the Mohammedans.

Dropping of Consonants.

The nûnation has disappeared in the dialect of Baghdâd just as in the other modern Arabic dialects. It is however, preserved in a few adverbs, e. g. ابدا *never*, دائما *always*, and in the old salutation اهلا وسهلا ومرحبا; in Egypt and in Syria adverbial forms with nûnation are much more numerous.

The final ن of the classical Arabic in the 2 pers. fem. sing. and in 2 pers. masc. plur. of the imperfect, on the other hand, is pre-

[1] For this partial assimilation cf. Haupt, *Die sumerischen Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 73, below; *Hebraica*, 1, 231; *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 1, 2. 19, n. 27; Critical Notes on Proverbs (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 65, l. 39; see also Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste Syrische Grammatik*[2] (Leipzig, 1898), § 22.

[2] Cf. above, (5).

[3] In modern Arabic writing the sounds *č*, *p*, *g*, are represented respectively by the Persian and Turkish letters, چ, پ, and ڭ.

served in the dialect of Baghdâd, while in Egypt and Syria this termination has altogether disappeared.

Initial أ is usually dropped, e. g. *mlâk, klîl, mrâḍ* for أملاك *'amlâk, possessions,* إكليل *'iklîl, crown,* امراض *'amrâḍ, maladies.*[1]

Postvocalic أ often quiesces in a preceding short vowel, as *dîb, ịâkil,* for ذئب *dhi'b* 'wolf,' and يأكل *ịa'kulu* 'he eats.'

The imperative has no prothetic א as in classical Arabic (اقتل *úqtul*) but is simply *qtul, shrab* for اشرب *ishrab* 'drink,' as in Hebrew and Syriac.

Final ة is often dropped, e. g. *çalâ, mára* for صلوة *çalâtu*^{n} 'prayer,' and امراة *imra'atu*^{n} 'woman.'

In the form مفعلة and فعيلة the ة is often changed into ى (مفعلى and فعيلى), e. g. *mádrasi, máktabi, ḥasini, karîmi* for مدرسة *mádrasat* 'school,' مكتبة *máktabat* 'library,' حسينة *ḥasînat* 'beautiful,' كريمة *karîmat* 'generous;' in other words, however, of the same type the final *a* is preserved, e. g. مطبعة *maṭba'a* 'printing office,' مقبرة *maqbara* 'cemetery,' مسطرة *mastara* 'ruler' (for drawing straight lines).

The ة in the verbal suffix of the 3 pers. sing. and plur. masc. and fem. is elided, and for قتله *qátalahu* 'he has killed him,' قتلها *qátalahâ* 'he has killed her,' قتلهم *qátalahum* 'he has killed them, قتلهن *qatalahunna* 'he has killed them' (fem.) we find *qatálu, qatála, qatálum* and *qatálun.*[2]

Other Consonantal Changes.

In the *nomen agentis* of the verbs mediæ و and ى the *hamza* is changed into *ị*, e. g. *qâịim mâịit,* for قائم *qâ'im* 'standing,' and صائت *mâ'it,* 'dying.'[3]

The final *hamza* of the word ماء *water* is also changed into *ị*: ماى *mâị,* as in Ethiopic *mâị,* pl. *mâịât.*[4]

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[1] Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*^{2}, § 32.

[2] Cf. Heb. אביו for אביהו; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*^{2}, § 38.

[3] Cf. Haupt, *Der Halbvocal ụ im Assyrischen* in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, 2,* 276.

[4] In Hebrew מַיִם the י is due to epenthesis of the final *i* in the old plural form *mâmi.* Cf. Critical Notes on Isaiah (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 157, l. 12.

Vowels.

In the Arabic writing only three vowels are expressed, viz. *a*, *i*, *u* or *â*, *î*, *û*, e. g. قُتِلَ, مقتول, ولد, والد, ملِك, سعيد. In the Baghdâd dialect, however, as well as in all the other modern Arabic dialects we find three additional vowels, viz. *ó* representing a modification of *u* or of a diphthongal *au*; *ê* for *î* or *aị* or *â*, and finally short *e* similar to the *e* in the English word *general*.

(1) The change of *â* to *ê* in the modern Arabic dialects, the so-called امالة, is well known.[1] For instance: the words رجال *men*, ناس *people*, جامع *mosque*, كاتب *writer*, are pronounced in *rʿjêl*, *nês*, *jêmiʿ*, *kêtib*.

(2) The preformatives of the imperfects *i* and *u* in the first form of the verb are pronounced with an *i* vowel, e. g. *ịiqtil* for يقتل *ịaqtul*; in the derived conjugations an *e* vowel is pronounced e. g. *ịʿqáttil*, *ịéqtil* for *ịuqattil*, *ịuqtil*. This, however, is probably not a phonetic change but the survival of a by-form; see Mr. Blake's remarks on the vowels of the preformatives in his paper on *The Internal Passive in Semitic*.[2]

(3) In certain nouns we find an *e*, like the *e* in the English word *carpet*, instead of *u* in classical Arabic, e. g. *meshmesh*, *felfel*, *bestân*, *çelṭân* instead of مشمش *mušmuš* 'apricot,' فلفل *fulful* 'pepper,' بستان *bustân* 'garden,' سلطان *çulṭân* 'sultan.' In these cases we have, of course, no phonetic change but different formations; cf. Hebrew שֻׁלְטָן Arabic *sultân*; Aramaic בְּנְיָן, Arab. *buniân*. This change is peculiar to the Baghdâd dialect.

The *Imâle* referred to under (1) occurs also in Syria, e. g. *bêb* 'gate,' *kitêb* 'book, for *bâb*, *kitâb*; and the pronunciation of the preformatives of the imperfect with *i* instead of *a* or *u* is found both in Syria and Egypt.

(4) The long vowels *î* and *û* often become *ê* and *ó*, e. g. *malêḥ*, *ʿarêḍ*, *baṭṭêḫ* for مليح *good*, عريض *wide*, بطيخ *melon*; also *ʿaçfóġh*, *nâqós*, *maksóġh*, for عصفور *sparrow*, ناقوس *bell*, مكسور *broken*. In Egypt and Syria the vowels *î* and *û* are preserved.

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[1] Cf. Grünert, *Über die Imâla* (Vienna, 1876), and Haupt, *The Assyrian E-vowel* (Baltimore, 1887), p. 18.

[2] Compare also *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 1, 17, n. 20.

The *ê* and *ô* of the Baghdâd dialect, in the cases mentioned above, is no doubt due to the influence of the adjacent consonants.[1]

(5) Unaccented short vowels are often syncopated, e. g. براسي *bira'sî* 'on my head,' becomes *bra'sî;* لبيتي *libaṭî* 'to my house,' becomes *lbêti.* In the same way the vowel of the preformatives of the imperfect is often dropped if the first stem consonant of the verb is followed by a vowel, e. g. *tçállî, nbârik* for تصلى, نبارك *tuçalli* 'thou prayest,' and *nubâriku* 'we bless;' so, too, in the preformative م of the participles, e. g. *mqâttil, mdárris, m'allim* for مقتّل *muqáttilu*[n] 'murderer,' مدرّس *mudárrisu*[n] 'instructor,' and معلّم *mu'allimu*[n] 'teacher.' We find the same elision, e. g., in the forms فعيل, فعول, فعال, and فعالة, for instance *ḥçân, ḥmîr, flûs, djâjat* for حصان *ḥiçân* 'horse,' حمير *ḥamîr* 'asses,' فلوس *fulûs* 'money,' and دجاجة *dajâjat.* 'hen.'

(6) In the plural of the *nomen agentis* the second stem consonant is often syncopated, e. g. *kâtbîn, msílmîn, me'álmîn* for كاتبون *katibûn* 'writers,' مسلمون *muslimûn* 'Musulmans,' and معلّمون *mu'allimûn* 'teachers.'[2] The same syncope takes place in the dual form.[3]

(7) The same elision occurs after the second stem consonant of the 3 pers. sing. fem. and 3 pers. masc. plur. of the perfect, e. g. *libsit, híznit, líbsu, híznu* for لبست *lábisat* 'she dressed,' حزنت *ḥazinat* 'she was grieved,' لبسوا *labisû* 'they dressed,' and حزنوا *ḥazinû* 'they were grieved.'[4]

(8) In the same way short vowels are dropped at the end, e. g. the final vowel of the termination of the 2 pers. sing. masc. of the

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[1] Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*[2] § 48.

[2] We find the same elision even in Assyrian, e. g. *âšbu* 'dwelling' for *ṯâšību, šâlšu* 'third' for *šâlišu.* Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Grammar,* § 37.

[3] In the dialect of Baghdâd as well as in all the other modern Arabic dialects, the dual and plural forms of the participles are preserved only in their genitive case; as in Syriac and Hebrew, the nominative case has altogether disappeared, e. g. مدرسين, عالمين, كاتبين instead of مدرسون, عالمون, كاتبون and *kátbên, 'álmên* and *mdarsên* for the old dual forms مدرّسان, عالمان, كاتبان.

[4] Cf. Dillmann, *Äthiop. Gram.*[2] §§ 37, 76.

perfect (e. g. *lbist, ḥzint* for لبست *labista* 'thou didst dress,' حزنت *ḥazinta* 'thou wast grieved')[1] or the overlapping vowels of the imperfect (e. g. *táḥzan, álbas, áḥzan* for تحزن *táḥzanu* 'thou art sad,' البس *álbasu* 'I dress,' احزن *áḥzanu* 'I am sad'); or the final vowel of the possessive suffix of the second person (e. g. *kálbak, jísmak* for كلبك *kálbuka* 'thy dog,' جسمك *jísmuka* 'thy body').[2]

Owing to this apocope of the final vowel the 3 pers. fem. sing. of the perf. can be distinguished from the 2 pers. masc. sing. only by the accent: in the 3 pers. fem. sing. the accent is on the first syllable, while in the 2 pers. masc. sing. the accent is on the second syllable, e. g. *hîḥa qátalet, hîḥa ákalet* for هي قتلت *hîḥa qátalat* 'she has killed' and هي اكلت *hîḥa ákalat* 'she has eaten,' and *ánta qatálet, ánta akálet* for انت قتلت *ánta qatálta* 'thou hast killed' and انت اكلت *ánta akálta* 'thou has eaten.'[3]

(9) In the forms *qatl, qitl, qutl*, an auxiliary vowel is inserted in the second syllable just as in the corresponding Hebrew *Segolate* forms, e. g. *šámis* for شمس *šams* 'sun,' *bínit* for بنت *bint* 'daughter;' *qúdis* for قدس *quds* 'holiness.'[4] The original form, however, is preserved before suffixes, just as in Hebrew מַלְכִּי, סִפְרִי and קָדְשִׁי.

Contraction of Diphthongs.

The diphthongs *aḭ* and *aṵ* of the classical Arabic are always pronounced *ê* and *ô*, e. g. *ḭôm, zêt, môt, ḥôš, bêt* for يوم *ḭaṵm* 'day,' زيت *zaḭt* 'olive oil,' موت *maṵt* 'death,' حوش *ḥaṵš* 'court-yard,' بيت *baḭt* 'house.' So also in the termination of the dual, e. g. *šahrên, ktêbên* for شهرين *šahraḭn* 'two months,' and كتابين *kitâbaḭn* 'two books,' as the 'plural of the genitive'[5] is

[1] Cf. Stumme, *Gramm. des Tunisischen Arabisch.* (Leipzig, 1896), p. 7.

[2] For this apocope of final short vowels, cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*[2] § 50.

[3] Cf. Heb. בָּרְכַת=*bárakat*. Similarly we have in Syriac *qiṭláth*=*qáṭalat* and *qṭalt*=*qatálta*.

[4] In Assyrian the characteristic vowel of the first syllable is repeated in the construct state of the forms *qatl, qitl, qutl: qatal, qitil, qutul*. Cf. Haupt in *Beiträge zur assyrischen Lautlehre* (Göttingen, 1883), p. 89, n. 3.

[5] Cf. above, p. 102, n. 3.

used, e. g. *b'nîn* instead of بنون, *sons;* this termination *-ên* can, of course, not be explained as *Imâle* of the nominative ending *-ân* in classical Arabic. We find this *ê* for *aį* also in the verbs *tertiæ* ى, e. g. *ramêtu* for رميت *ramaįtu* 'I threw.'

Contraction of the diphthongs obtains also in the other Arabic dialects, but in none of them is it so general and consistent as in the dialect of Baghdâd.[1] I have often heard Egyptians and Syrians pronounce زيت *zaįt*, حوش *ḥaųš*, موت *maųt*, etc., but the natives of Baghdâd always contract the diphthongs. In the dialect of زحلة *Zaḥle* in Northern Syria, on the other hand, the diphthongs are constantly preserved as in classical Arabic.

2. Morphological Notes.

One of the most striking peculiarities of the Arabic dialect of Baghdâd is the suffix *nû* instead of *hû* in many cases, e. g. ابونو *abûnû* for ابوه *abûhu* 'his father,' اخونو *axûnû* for اخوه *axûhu* 'his brother,' علينو *'alênû* for عليه *'alaįhi* 'upon him,' بينو *bînû* for به *bihi* 'in him;' منّو *minnû* for منه *minhu* 'from him;' شنو *šûnû* for هو ◦ اي شي *aĭįu šaį'in hûya* 'what is it?' Also in the following forms of the verb: قتلتونو *qataltûnû* for قتلته *qatáltuhu* 'I killed him,' قتلنانو *qatalnânû* for قتلناه *qatalnâhu* 'we killed him,' قتلتينو *qataltînû* for قتلتيه *qataltîhi*[2] or قتلته *qataltîhi* 'thou (fem.) didst kill him,' قتلتنو *qataltúnu* for قتلتموه *qataltumûhu* 'you killed him,' قتلونو *qatalûnû* for قتلوه *qatalûhû* 'they killed him,' تقتلينو *taqtilînû* for تقتليه *taqtulîhi*[3] 'thou (fem.) wilt kill him,' تقتلونو *tiqtilûnû* for

[1] In the same way the diphthongs *aų* and *aį* appear as *û* and *î* in Assyrian; but the Hebrew name הוֹשֵׁעַ is rendered at the time of Tiglathpileser III. (745–727) by *Ausi'*, and at the time of Assurbanipal (668–626) the sheik of the Kedareṇes is called *Ų̂te'* and *Ḫaųta'u*, i. e., probably, واتح and يوتح (cf. زيد, يزيد; عمر, يعمر, etc.), see Haupt, *Sumerische Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 21, n. 1; *Über den Halbvocal ų im Assyrischen*, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 2, 261; *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 1, 170. 296.

[2] See Wright-de Goeje[3], vol. 1, § 186, c; cf. Heb. קטלתיני, etc.

[3] For the survival of the by-form *hi* instead of *hu* in this case see Crit. Notes on Judges (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 66, l. 23.

تقتلوه *taqtulûhu* 'you will kill him,' يقتكونو *ʾiqtilûnû* for يقتلوه *ʾaqtulûhu* 'they will kill him,' and finally the 2 pers. plur. of the imperative, e. g. قتلونو *qtulûnû* for اقتلوه *uqtulûhu* 'kill ye him,' and the 2 pers. sing. fem. قتلينو *qtilînû* for اقتليه *uqtulîhi* 'kill thou (fem.) him.' Professor Haupt compares this نو with the suffix in Heb. אֵינֶנּוּ *he is not*, עוֹדֶנּוּ *he is still*, יֶשְׁנוֹ *he is*.[1] This *nû* may be based on the analogy of the suffix *nî* which we find in a number of cases instead of the possessive suffix *î*, e. g. אֵינֶנִּי, עוֹדֶנִּי, הֲנֶנִּי, cf. Arabic اننى *innanî*, for *innî*, لكننى *lâkinnanî* for *lâkinnî*, ليسنى *laiṣanî* for *laiṣî*, etc., and the modern Arabic forms فينى *fîni* and بينى *bîni* for فِي and بِي.[2] This *nî* is evidently identical with the verbal suffix of the first person.[3] Brockelmann thinks that the suffix נוּ in אֵינֶנּוּ is identical with the particle ان *anna* (lit. *it is not that he*); but this view is improbable. In Assyrian the verbal suffix appears not only as *nî*, but also, especially after a preceding *û*, as *annî*, *innî*, e. g. *ilqû'innî-ma uštešibû'innî* 'they took me, and caused me to dwell' (in l. 205 of the Cuneiform Account of the Deluge). This shows that the verbal suffix *nî* is shortened from *annî*, *innî*, i. e. Heb. הֲנֵנִי (ان + ى.)

Clermont-Ganneau, on the other hand, thinks that this *nû* of the Arabic dialect of Baghdâd cannot be an emphatic ן, nor an element belonging to the preceding word; it must be therefore, he concludes, regarded as an integral part of the suffix itself, which, at an early time, may have been both *nû* and *hû*. According to Clermont-Ganneau this hypothesis is made more probable by the fact that in Phœnician we have both הֶם- and נֶם- as suffixes of the 3 pers. masc. plur.[4] and if נֶם- is the plural suffix, we may

[1] So we must point instead of the traditional יֶשְׁנוֹ; cf. Critical Notes on Numbers (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 57, l. 37; Stade, § 370, b; Brockelmann in ZA. 14, 347.

[2] Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch's *Hebrew Grammar*, § 103, d.

[3] Contrast Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 100; Brockelmann, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 14, 347.

[4] Cf. Schröder, *Die phönizische Sprache* (Halle, 1869), § 57 (p. 158); Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemit. Epigraphik.* (Weimar, 1898), p. 396.

assume that נו was the singular suffix, which is precisely the suffix נו preserved in the modern Arabic dialect of Baghdâd.[1]

In the two words اب *father* and اخ *brother*, the suffix of the 1. pers. sing. masc. appears as *i͗i͗*: اخويي *axûi͗i͗* and ابويي *abûi͗i͗* instead of ابي *abî* and اخي *axî*. This suffix *-i͗i͗* may be a modification of the original form *-i͗a* (cf. Assyr. *abû'a, axû'a* for *abûi͗a, axûi͗a*) influenced by the ordinary form of the suffix of the first person *-î*, just as Heb. קטלתי *I killed*, instead of *qatáltu*, and אנכי *I* instead of *anâku*, were influenced by the *î* of אני.[2]

A special peculiarity of the Baghdâd dialect is the use of the two words اكو *akû* 'there is,' and ماكو *mâkû* 'there is not,' corresponding to في and مافيش in the modern Arabic dialect of Egypt. Therefore Baghdâd is called the 'Land of *Akû* and *Mâkû*,' as Egypt is called the land of *Mâfish*. The forms اكو and ماكو are probably derived from some form of the verb كان, يكون *to be*.

Proper Names.

In the Baghdâd dialect there exists a special nominal form used exclusively for proper names, which, in the other Arabic dialects, contain the name of God الله. This form is فعّولى *fa"álî* which

[1] The following explanation has been suggested by Mr. Blake, of the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University. The form منه *minhu* 'from him' of the classical language appears in the dialect of Baghdâd as *minnû*, the *h* of the suffix being assimilated to the preceding consonant, just as in the Hebrew form קטלתו *q'ṭālátṭû* 'she killed him,' for קטלתהו *q'ṭāláthû*. The *nû* of this form *minnû* came to be regarded as the suffix of the third person masculine, and was extended by analogy to other prepositions; e. g. *'alênû* 'upon him,' *bînû* 'in him;' just as the *ê* of Hebrew עלי and אלי was extended to other prepositions like אחרי, where originally it had no place. It was then still further extended to those verbal forms which end in a long vowel (the only exception being the form of the 2. pl. perf. with suffix *qatalkun-nû*, which might, however, be explained as derived from the feminine form قتلكنّ rather than from the masculine قتلكم), and to the nouns ان *ab* 'father,' and اخ *ax* 'brother,' which have at least a long vowel before the possessive suffixes, e. g. ابوك *abû-k* 'thy father,' اخونا *axû-nâ* 'our brother.'

[2] Cf. Haupt, *Sumerische Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 53; Stade, § 179, a, n. 3.

does not occur in classical Arabic. Instead of نصر الله *Naçrullâhi* (Help of God), شكر الله *Šukrullâhi* (Reward of God), رزق الله *Rizqullâhi* (Gift of God), عبد الله *'Abdullâhi* (Servant of God) we find نصّورى *Naççûrî*, شكّورى *Šakkûrî*, رزّوقى *Razzûqî* and عبّودى *'Abbûdî*. Even the three Hebrew names, Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael (מִיכָאֵל, גַּבְרִיאֵל, רָפָאֵל), appear in the dialect of Baghdâd as مخّولى *Maxxûlî*, جبّورى *Jabbûrî* رفّولى *Raffûlî*, thus showing the influence of analogy. It is used also for the feminine name فاطمة *Fâṭime* which appears as فطّومة *Faṭṭûme*.[1]

This form فعّولى is, according to Professor Haupt, a *nisbeh* derived from the intensive adjective form فعّول, e. g. قيّوم *qaiiûm* 'everlasting,' سبّوح *sabbûḥ* 'all-glorious,' قدّوس *qaddûs* 'most holy.'[2] A name like نصّورى may be a denominative derived from an intensive by-form of نصور *helper*, so that it would mean *Belonging to the Great Helper*, and شكّورى from an intensive by-form of شكور, so that it means *Belonging to the Great Rewarder*. Several of these names are, of course, nothing but analogical formations.

For the *nomina unitatis* the form فعلة of the classical Arabic is never used, but the form فعلاية *fa'lâie* or فعلايى *fa'lâiî*, which seems to be a diminutive of the form فعلة, e. g. نجمايى *najmâiî* 'star, blaze,' لحمايى *laḥmâiî* 'piece of meat,' خبزايى *xibzâiî* 'a piece of bread,' جبنايى *jibnâiî* 'a piece of cheese,' for لحمة, نجمة, خبزة and جبنة. The classical forms of these *nomina unitatis* are preserved in the modern Arabic dialects of Syria and Egypt.

3. LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

Pronouns, Adverbs, and Prepositions.

I append here a list of the forms of the principal pronouns, adverbs, and prepositions used in the Arabic dialect of Baghdâd with the corresponding forms in the other Arabic dialects.

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[1] In north Morocco *Faṭṭûš*; cf. *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 3, 566.

[2] Cf. Wright-de Goeje, 1, 138, A, § 223, and Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*[2], § 119.

Baghdâd.				
هونى	*hônî*[1]	=	هنا	*hunâ* 'here.'
هونيك	*honîki*	=	هناك	*hunâka* 'there.'
وين	*wên*	=	اين	*aiṇa* 'where?'
هذوليك	*hadhôlîk*	=	اولائك	*ûlâ'ika* 'those.'
هذولى	*hadhôlî*	=	هولآء	*hâ'ulâ'i* 'these.'
هليوم	*haliṓm*	=	هذا اليوم	*hâdhâliayma* 'to-day.'
ه	*ha*	=	هذا	*hâḍhâ* 'this.'
هوينو	*haṷênû*	=	هنا هو	*huna hû'a* 'here it is.'
همّ[2]	*hamm*	=	ايضا	*aiḍa*[n] 'also.'
همينا	*hāmmênâ*	=	ايضا	*aiḍa*[n] 'also.'
ليش	*lêš*	=	للأىّ شىء[3]	*li'aiii šaî'i*[n] 'why.'
بلاش or مبلاش	*balâš* or *mbalâš*	=	بلا شىء	*bilâ šaî'i*[n] 'without pay, for nothing.'
مبوغر	*mbóghir*	=	لأنّ	*li'anna* 'because.'
شويّة[3]	*šuêiie*	=	قليل	*qalîl* 'little.'
كيف ما كان	*kêf mâ kân*	=		'however.'
شوقت	*šuáqit*	=	فى اى وقت	*fî aiii uáqti*[n] 'when?'
كل وقت	*kull uágit*	=	دائمًا	*dâ'ima*[n] 'always.'
بالعجل	*bil'ajal*	=	حالا	*ḥâla*[n] 'immediately.'
عوافى	*'auâfî*[4]	=	هنيئا	*hanî'a*[n] 'prosit!'
سوى	*sáua*	=	سويّة	*sauîiiata*[n] 'together.'
جوّ	*jauua*	=	داخلا	*dâxila*[n] 'inside.'
برّ	*bárra*	=	خارجا	*xârija*[n] 'outside.'
شنو	*šunû*	=	اى شىء هو	*aiii šaî'i*[n] *hâua* 'what is it?'
ويانو	*uiânú*[5]	=	معه	*ma'ahu* 'with him.'
شبينو	*šbînû*	=	اى شىء به	*aiiu šaî'i*[n] *bihi* (or مالهُ) 'what is the matter with him?'

[1] Cf. Talcott Williams' article on the spoken Arabic of North Morocco in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 3, 567, n. *.

[2] Cf. below, p. 110.

[3] The diminutive of شىء.

[4] Plur. of عافية *'âfiie* 'health,' which is used in north Morocco for نار *fire*; cf. *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 3, p. 577, l. 13.

[5] I. e. ويّاه + و. For ويّاه *uaiiâhu*, i. e. واو المعيّة + إيّا + *nû*, instead of *hû* (cf. above, p. 104), cf. Wright-de Goeje[3], 2, 84, D.

VOCABULARY.

Foreign Words.

The vocabulary of the dialect of Baghdâd has been enriched by a great many Syriac, Turkish, Persian, and European words. Of the words borrowed from the Syriac we may mention

سكّر *to lock the door*, from سكّر

طاف *supernatavit*, from طاف[1]

شطّف *to wash the hand*, from شطّف

شمط *to draw the sword*, from شمط

فلّش *to destroy*, from فلّش[2]

شلّح *to undress*, from شلّح[3]

Also the form فاعول for *nomina agentis* as in شاغول *business man*, etc., seems to be due to the influence of the Syriac.[4]

Finally all the words relating to the Christian religion appear to be borrowed from the Syriac just as in the other Arabic dialects,[5] e. g. تلميذ *talmidh* 'student' or 'disciple,' شمّاس *šammâs*, 'ministerial assistant at the altar,' قسّ *qess* or قسّيس *qassîs*, 'priest,' عماد *'mâd* 'baptism,' كاهن *kâhin* 'priest,'[6] كاروز *kârûz*

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[1] From this word we have طوف *ṭôf*, the name for the inflated skins put under rafts (*keleks* = Syriac ܟܠܟܐ or ܟܠܟܐ *kalkâ* or *k'lakkâ*). The ancient Assyrian name for these inflated skins was *gabšû*; cf. Crit. Notes on Ezekiel (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 65, l. 15.

[2] Cf. for this verb Crit. Notes on Proverbs (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 38, l. 42.

[3] In the last four stems the identity of the sibilant shows that these stems are not genuine Arabic words; otherwise we should expect a س for ش; cf. Haupt. *Sumer. Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 20, n. 3; ZDMG., 34, 762, n. 2; *Beitr. zur assyr. Lautlehre* (Göttingen, 1883), p. 101, § 7; Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.* (Leyden, 1886), p. xiv.

[4] Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*[2], § 107, and Barth, *Nominal-bildung*, § 122, 10.

[5] So also in Ethiopic, e. g. *qasîs* 'priest,' plur. *qasâʸĕst*, *haʸmânôt* 'faith,' etc., etc.; cf. Prätorius, *Äthiop. Gr.* (Karlsruhe. 1886), p. 1, n. *; see also Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, pp. 275 ff.

[6] The genuine Arabic كاهن means *seer, soothsayer*, cf. Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidenthums*[2], pp. 134, 143.

'preacher,'[1] مشحة *mášḥa* 'extreme unction,'[2] ناقوس *nâqôs* 'bell,' etc.—from ڠڂڞڡ, ڠڡڡ, ڠڡ or ڠڡڡ, ڞڡ, ڞڡ, ڠڡڡ (or ڠڡڡ or ڠڡڡ), ڠڡڡ.

From the Persian and Turkish languages we may mention the few following words

صاغ *çagh* 'genuine, in good condition.'
بلكي *balkî* 'perhaps.'
چرك *čûrûg* 'defective.'
هلبت *halbát* 'necessarily, of course.'
همّ *hamm* 'also.'
يواش *ǰeyâš* 'slowly.'
چويش *čayîš* 'policeman.'[3]
كُديش *gdiš* 'a poor horse.'
پردة *perdé* 'curtain.'
پشكير *peškìr* 'napkin.'
چول *čôl* 'open field.'
توفنك *tufénng* 'gun.'
ميوه *mêyâh* 'fruits.'
زنكين *zengîn* 'rich man.'

and some 200 other words.

Among the loan-words borrowed from European languages we may mention :

بطل *buṭul*, from *bottle.*
كُلاس *glâss*, from *glass.*
ميز *mêz*, from Lat. *mensa*, 'dining table.'
طاولة *ṭâyle*, from Ital. *tavola* 'table.'

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[1] Aram. כָּרוֹזָא Dan. 3, 4 ; cf. Greek Κηρύσσω.

[2] The ش shows here that the word is borrowed from Aramaic. The genuine Arabic form of this stem has a س ; cf. above, p. 109, n. 3. and Crit. Notes on Numbers (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 52, l. 26.

[3] *Cavass*, قوّاس originally *archer.*

شفقة *šafqa*, from French *chapeau* 'hat.'

لوكندة *locanda*, from Ital. *locanda*.

ڤاپور *vapôr*, from Ital. *vapore* 'steamer.'

كاپلة *câpélla*, from Italian *cappella* 'chapel.'

برنيطة *barnêṭa*, from Italian *berretta* 'cap.'

مغازة *maghâza*, from *magazin*, which is, of course, originally a genuine Arabic word, مخزن *máxzan*, plur. مخازن *maxâzin* 'storehouse,' from خزن *to accumulate, to store up.*

Finally we append a list of some other words commonly used in Baghdâd :

شاف *šâf* 'to see.'

باوع *bâya'* 'to look.'

راح *râḥ* 'to go away.'

جاب *jâb* 'to bring here or in.'

توجّع *tayajja'* 'to be sick.'

تعال *ta'âl* 'come here !'

انقلع *inqíli'* 'get away !'

طلع *ṭála'* 'to go out.'

باق *bâq* 'to steal.'

سوّى *sáyya* 'to make.'

ودّى *yádda* 'to bring away.'

سدّ *sádda* 'to close.'

زمال *zmâl* 'ass.'

غرض *gháraḍ* 'thing.'

خطار *xuṭṭâr* 'guest.'

عتيق *'atîq* 'old' (of things).

كسر الصفرة *kasrilçífra* 'to breakfast.'

سايس *sâyis* 'hostler,' from the Aramaic or Hebrew word for *horse*, סוּס (Assyr. *sîsû*), סוּס.

مبيحة *mbêḥa* 'to-morrow.'

ماوى *mâyi* 'blue' = ماء, i. e. the color of the water; the word ازرق *ázraq* for *blue* is never used in Baghdâd.

هاشة *hâša* = بقرة *báqarat* 'cow.'

بستوقة *bastôqa* 'jar.'

خشم *xášim* 'nose.'

حلو *ḥulu* (lit. *sweet*) is used for a *beautiful man, woman* or *thing.*

ابرش *ábraš* = اشقر *ášqar* 'blond.'

بلّور *ballûr* 'crystal.'

موطيّة *muṭîiia* 'she-ass.'

واوى *ẏâẏi* = ابن اوى *ibn âẏâ* 'fox.'

Proper Names.

As a rule the Mohammedans and the Arabs in Baghdâd and in the surrounding country bear pure Arabic names. The most common names for men are: محمّد *Mḥámmed,* عبّاس *'Abbâs,* حسن *Ḥásan,* حسين *Ḥsên,* علىّ *'Âli,* جعفر *Já'far,* محمود *Maḥmûd;*—and for women—فاطمة or فطومة *Fâṭime* or *Faṭṭâme,* خديجة *Xadîje,* علية *'Âlie,* سعدة *Sá'de,* حسنة *Ḥásne.*

The Jews always have Hebrew names, e. g.:

موشى *Môši* = משה.

عزرا *'Izra* = עֶזְרָא.

حزقييل *Ḥazqiiêl* = יְחֶזְקֵאל (or הֶזְקִיאֵל).

هارون *Ḥárûn* = אַהֲרוֹן.

دانيال *Dâniâl* = דָּנִיֵּאל.

صارة *Çâre* = שָׂרָה.

رِبقة *Rápqe* = רִבְקָה.

زلفة *Zilfe* = זִלְפָּה.

حسدة *Ḥásde* = חסדה.

راحيل *Râḥêl* = רָחֵל.

ليا *Lîie* = לֵאָה.

The Christians have names taken from the Old and New Testaments, names of saints, martyrs, etc., but often also pure Arabic names as نعيم *Na'îm*, سليم *Selîm*, مجيد *Mejîd*, جميل *Jamîl*, for men;—and جميلة *Jamîle*, فهيمة *Fahîme*, منيرة *Munîre*, وديعة *Wadî'a*, etc., for women. Some also have European names as اسكندر *Iskánder* (Alexander), وليم *William*, جورج *Jôrj* (George) or جرجس *Jirjes* for men;—and ريجينا *Rêgîne* (Regina), اليزة *Elîze* (Eliza), كارولين *Kârôlîn* (Caroline), جوزفين *Jozefîn* (Josephine) for women.

4. SPECIMEN OF THE MODERN ARABIC DIALECT OF BAGHDÂD.

With Transliteration, English Translation and Retranslation into Classical Arabic.

مبيكه غحكت عند ابويي بالسوق وما شفتونو هونيك مبوغر
كان كن غاح لغيغ مكان وزعلت كتيغ وبعدو رجعت للبيت
وقلتوله لمّى وخبرتوه وهى همّينا انحصغت كتيغ . ولما صاغ
المسا سألت ايويي وقلتولو وين كنت يا ابويي هلبوم الصبح
وهو جاوبني وقلّلي يا ولدى كنت غحت لِسّوق حتى اطلّع
الصناديق الّى وصلتنى مبيكه من اوروپا وبعدو شوّفنى ياها
وفحنا نيا كتيغ .

Transliteration.

Mbêḥa ṛíḥtu[1] *'ind abûii bissóq ụmê šiftunû hónîki mbóṛir kân kin ṛâḥ lṛêṛ makên ụiz'iltû ktîṛ ụbá'dû rjî'tu lilbêt ụqiltûlêh limmi ụxabbartûụeh*[2] *ụhîie hammêna nḥaçáṛit ktîṛ. ụlimme çâṛ-*

[1] The غ *ṛ* is a gutteral (velar or postpalatal) *r*, as in French or German; cf. *Beitr. zur Assyriologie*, 1, 257, n. 9.

[2] For *x* = خ see *Beitr. zur Assyr.*, 1, 255.

il-mese sa'áltû abûji ɣqiltûlû ɣên kínit ǰâ abûji haliǰóm-iççibiḥ ɣhûɣe jâɣébni ɣqálli ǰâ ɣeledî kíntu ṛiḥtu lissóq ḥitte aṭálli'-iççen-êdîq illi ɣiçltni mbêḥa min Órôpe ɣba'adû šaɣɣáfni ǰâhâ ɣifṛíḥne biǰe ktîṛ.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

When I had gone yesterday to (see) my father in the market, I did not see him there; he had gone to some other place. I was very much disappointed. Then I went home and told my mother and informed her. She, too, was very much disappointed. When the evening came, I asked my father, and said to him: "Where were you this morning, father?" He answered and said to me: "My boy, I had gone to the market to take out the trunks which had been sent to me yesterday from Europe." Thereupon he showed them to me, and we both liked them very much.

RETRANSLATION INTO CLASSICAL ARABIC.

البارحة كنت ذهبت عند ابى بالسوق وما رايته هناك لانه كان قد ذهب الى غير مكان وزعلت كثيرًا وبعده رجعت الى البيت وقلت لامّى واخبرتها وهى ايضًا زعلت كثيرًا ولمّا صار المساء سَأَلتُ ابى وقلتُ له أَينَ كنتَ يا ابتى اليومَ صباحًا وهو اجابنى وقال لى يا ولدى كنتُ ذهبتُ الى السوق حتى استخرج الصناذيق التى وصلتنى البارحةَ من اوروپا وبعدَه أَرانى ايّاها وفرحنا بها كثيرًا.

On the Pantheon of Tyre.—By George A. Barton, Professor in Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Penna.

In the collapse of the ancient Phoenician civilization, the Phoenician literature, of which, if we may believe classical authors, there was considerable, has entirely perished. The comparatively few inscriptions which have been brought to light in recent years, consisting as they do of votive and temple inscriptions and grave stones, can hardly be dignified with the name of literature. These inscriptions, however, such as they are, shed some light on the character of the Phoenician civilization and religion.

From the most famous of Phoenician cities, Tyre, almost no inscriptions have been taken, and none which throws any light upon its religion. To study the pantheon of Tyre, therefore, fragments of information must be pieced together from many outside sources.

That the Baal of Tyre was called Melqart (king of the city), we learn from the Phoenician portion of a bilingual inscription from Malta (*CIS.* 122). The Greek portion of the same inscription shows that Melqart was identified with the Greek Herakles. The temple of Melqart under this Greek name is mentioned by Herodotus (II, 44), and by Dion and Menander as quoted by Josephus (*Antiquities*, VIII, 5, 3 and *Contra Apion*, I, 18).

We should naturally expect from the analogy of other Phoenician pantheons that Ashtart would be worshipped together with Melqart, and the quotations made from Dion and Menander vouch for this also, as does a quotation from Sanchoniathon preserved in the *Praeparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius (ed. Dindorf, I, 10, 31).

All this is clear. The puzzling part of the problem comes when one endeavors to discover whether the pantheon extended beyond these two deities. Sanchoniathon, as quoted by Eusebius, states that "Astarte, the greatest, Zeus Demarous and Adodos ruled over the country by the consent of Kronos." As this statement occurs in connection with the statement that Astarte settled in the holy Island of Tyre, I had inferred in an article published in the *Journal* of this Society that this statement referred to Tyre and that it afforded ground for the

opinion that the pantheon of Tyre contained a god called Adon, i. e. Eshmun or Tammuz (cf. *JAOS.*, vol. xxi, p. 189). The process of reasoning on which that opinion was based was not, however, sufficiently stated. Ἄδωδος is one of the ways by which the name of the god Hadad, the Baal of the Aramaeans, was written in Greek. We have no evidence that there was a temple to Hadad at Tyre, and no special reason appears why there should be. Eusebius is a comparatively late writer, and obtained his information about the writings of Sanchoniathon from Philo of Byblos (Gebal). It would be very natural for the Tyrians to worship Adonis, and also not unnatural that in transmission through so many writers the name should become corrupted and confused with that of Hadad, which in the Greek so much resembles it. This view would, I think, be right if we could be sure that the passage in question referred to Tyre, but that is not certain. Sanchoniathon in these extracts wanders about from pantheon to pantheon grouping the gods without particular system, mingling names which are real with those which are fanciful, so that from his תֹּהוּ וָבֹהוּ inferences are somewhat precarious. It may quite as reasonably be supposed that in this passage he is referring to Astarte, Melqart and Hadad as the three leading Semitic deities of the region.[1]

There is, however, another bit of evidence tending to show that Adonis-Eshmun-Tammuz was worshiped at Tyre. Herodotos (II, 44) mentions in addition to the temple of Herakles already referred to, a temple of Herakles called Thasian. As Sayce perceived, it is not likely, even though the Phoenicians were the first to work the gold mines of Thasos, that the name "Thasian" is derived from that island.[2]

He conjectured from the fact that one of the hills of Tyre is called "El-Ma'shuq," "The beloved," that it was once crowned with a temple of Adonis, and that it is to this that Herodotos refers. This view seems probable. It is much more probable that there should have been a temple of Eshmun in Tyre, than that two temples of Melqart should have stood so near together. Perhaps the Tyrians applied to Adon-Eshmun some epithet akin to תּוּשִׁיָּה, (Thushiyya, cf. Job. xi, 6; xii, 16; xxvi, 3; Isa. xxvii,

[1] This does not affect the chief contention of my previous article, as there is evidence for the general thesis of that note apart from this.

[2] *Herodotus*, Books I-III, London, 1883, p. 152, n. 3.

29 and Micah vi, 9; Prov. iii, 21 ; viii, 14, etc.), meaning "The wise," or "skillful," on account of Eshmun's power to heal. It would not be strange for Herodotos to mistake this for the Greek adjective Θάσιος.

Another view is perhaps more probable. Sayce may be mistaken in thinking that Herodotos was mistaken. The temple and the epithet may have been as we have supposed, and the latter may have been the origin of the name Thasos itself. Pausinias (V, 25, 7) knew a tradition that Thasos was colonized by one Thasos from Tyre, and that the Thasians originally worshipped the same Herakles as the Tyrians did. It is among the possibilities that the Phoenicians who were first attracted by the gold mines of Thasos carried thither the worship of Eshmun, attaching to him especially the epithet which we have supposed, and that it was thus that the name Thasos had its origin. Of course in such a worship Melqart would not be forgotten, so that it would be natural in time that the name Herakles should become associated by the Greeks with both.

At all events, it seems safe to conclude that Eshmun-Adonis was a member of the pantheon of Tyre, and that in these references to the Thasian Herakles we probably have a reference to him.

Some Notes on the Blau Monuments.—By GEORGE A. BARTON, Professor in Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Penna.

WHEN Dr. William Hayes Ward was in Babylonia as the director of the Wolfe Expedition he saw two most interesting little objects which were in the possession of Dr. Blau, formerly of the Turkish medical service. They are now in the British Museum. Dr. Ward took wax impressions of these objects and published wood-cut representations of them in the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society* for Oct. 1885, p. lvii, and again by a photographic process by which greater accuracy was secured, in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, First Series, IV (1888), Plates IV, V. As these monuments are inscribed in a form of the Babylonian character more archaic than that of any inscriptions published up to that time, they attracted immediate attention. Later in the same year Menant republished them in *Revue Archéologique*, accompanying them with an article in which he sought to prove them fraudulent.[1] His argument was based on the formation of the human figures represented on the objects as well as the form of the written characters which they contained.

The genuineness of these monuments is now clearly established. The three greatest masters of old Babylonian archaeology, Hilprecht,[2] Heuzey,[3] and Thureau Dangin,[4] all regard them as genuine. Boscawen's attacks on their genuineness last summer in the London *Athenaeum*,[5] must be set down to the personal skepticism of a single scholar. One cannot come to the study of these monuments from other old Babylonian inscriptions and not realize the impossibility of forgery. A forger could not so uniformly give us forms of characters which in later inscriptions had undergone development as the Blau monuments do.

The chief student of these monuments in recent years has been M. Thureau Dangin. Their difficulty is indicated by the changes

[1] Cf. Vol. XII, p. 360 ff.

[2] Cf. his *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, pt. ii, p. 35, n. 4.

[3] See *Revue d'assyriologie*, Vol. II, p. 55.

[4] Cf. his *Recherches*, p. xv, and its sign list *passim*, especially the "Appendice" and *Supplément*.

[5] See Vol. I, for 1900, pp. 312 ff. and 535 ff. Cf. also Dr. Ward's replies, pp. 440 and 696.

which that accomplished savant has made in his interpretation within the last five years. One who will may follow this scholar's progress of opinion as to these texts by comparing his article in the *Revue Semitique*, Vol. IV, (1896), p. 43-52, the notes on the various signs contained in them in his *Recherches sur l'origine de l'ecriture cunéiforme*, 1898, the "Appendice" to which often differs from the text in matters relating to these monuments, and the *Supplément* to the above work (1899), which records still further changes of opinion. Having followed in Thureau Dangin's footsteps, and having by the aid of his researches been able, as I believe, to elucidate some points which hitherto have remained impenetrable, the following notes are presented as a small contribution to the elucidation of these most interesting objects. They are presented also because no translation of both inscriptions has hitherto been published.

Monument A, the broader of the two objects, of which the accompanying plate gives a rough sketch, I would tentatively read as follows:

Obverse, col. i, 1. 1. XX BA DAR[1]
2. XX ŠI[2] NAM[3]
3. XX PISAN[4]
Col. ii, 1. 1. XXX EN ŠAG[5]
2. XXX EN ZA[6]
3. KA[7] GIŠ[8] GAL GIR[9]
Col. iii, 1. 1. XX TILLA[10] (?)
2. XX KID[11]
3. XX ?[12] ?[13]
Col. iv, 1. 1. II[14] SIG[15] (?)
Col. iv, 1. 2. X GAL[16]
3. XX AZAG[17] NA[18]
Col. v, 1. 1. X BIR[19]
2. II GAR[20]
3. X BI[21]
Reverse, 1. 1. UŠ-KU[22] KUR[23] BUR[24] (?)
2. ŠITA[25] LAL[26] (?)
3. DINGIR[27] GIR[28] NUNUZ[29] BAL[30] (?) ŠAG[31]

TRANSLATION.

Obverse, i, 1. 20 Wrought *birmi*[1] garments;
2. 20 living[2] swallows[3];
3. 20 waterpots[4];

A

B

ii, 1. 30 lordly garments[5];
2. 30 lordly stones[6];
3. the large point[7] of a great[8] dagger; (or simply, "the point of a large dagger"[9]);
iii, 1. 20 *urtu*[10] plants (?);
2. 20 *kiti*[11] garments;
3. 20 ?[12] ?[13];
iv, 1. 2[14] garments[15] (?);
2. 10 slaves[16];
3. 20 brilliant[17] stones[18];
v, 1. 10 kids[19];
2. 2 (measures of) crushed (grain)[20];
3. 10 (measures of) date wine[21]

Reverse,
1. for the thirsty[22] (about) the glowing[23] pot[24] (?);
2. a pot[25] of honey[26] (?);
3. for the god,[27] a lance,[28] a necklace[29] and a large[30] libation[31] (?).

Notes on Monument A.

[1] Cf. Thureau Dangin's *Recherches* (hereafter cited as R.), Nos. 548 and 34, also Brunnow's *Classified List* (hereafter cited as L.), No. 3483, and Delitzschis, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* (hereafter cited as HWB.), 186 b.

[2] This is registered in R. no. 562 as unknown, but cf. no. 238.

[3] Thus L. no. 2101 and Hommel, *Sumerische Lesestücke*, p. 6, no. 67. Hilprecht, *OBI.* pt. II, p. 35, n. 4, thinks from the form of the pictograph that it was a goose or some large bird of the Babylonian marshland.

[4] Cf. R. no. 429, L. 6015 and HWB. p. 532. The pictograph used is a picture of a rough waterpot with handles.

[5] Cf. R. no. 255 and L. no. 7989.

[6] Cf. R. 472 and L. 11721.

[7] Cf. R. 195 *Sup.* and L. 538. "Mouth" is used for the point or edge of a dagger or sword, as in Hebrew. Note that the pictograph for mouth differs from that for head only by having a few hairs of the beard added to call attention to the mouth.

[8] Cf. L. 5701.

[9] Cf. R. 3 and L. 309. This is probably the same dagger as that mentioned in the second inscription, and which monument B represents.

[10] Cf. R. 51 and *Sup.* 339 ^{ter}; Thureau Dangin first identified the sign with R. 51, taking it to mean goat. I tentatively identify it with R. 117; cf. L. 7306 and HWB. 99 b.

[11] Cf. R. 178; L. 2704 and HWB. 361 b.

[12] Unidentified; cf. R. 390,395,551 and *Sup.* 391 ^{bis}.

[13] Unidentified; cf. R. 547.

[14] Cf. R. 485.

[15] Cf. R. *Sup.* 464 and L. 10778.

[16] Cf. R. 27.

[17] Cf. R. 252.

[18] Cf. L. 1582.

[19] Cf. R. 32; L. 2030 and Muss Arnolt's HWB. p. 104 b.

[20] Cf. R. 337; L. 11960 and HWB. 283 a. Cf. also Thureau Dangin in *Rev. Semitique*, Vol. IV, p. 50.

[21] Cf. R. 390 and L. 5126.

[22] Cf. R. 26 and 467, 468; also L. 5071 and HWB. 329 b. Thureau Dangin perceived that this line was connected with the preceding (*Rev. Sem.* IV, p. 51), but he took UŠ=*kalû* with "idée de capacité, de contenance," and KU=*qimu*, "la farine," and rendered "farine contenue dans un vase." But UŠ-KU=*kalû* in the sense of "thirst," as Delitzsch has pointed out (HWB. 329 b). The provision I take it was for a religious festival, and the date wine of the preceding line was provided for those who became thirsty at the feast, i. e., "about the glowing pot."

[23] The reading of this sign is somewhat uncertain. It seems to be clearly identified with KUR (R. 479). I interpret it as L. 7395=*napâḫu*, *niphu*, which carries the idea of "glowing," "being warm." It is the stem from which comes the Babylonian word for "smith."

[24] R. 522 and L. 6974. Cf. also Thureau Dangin, *Revue Sem.* IV, 50, 51.

[25] This sign I identify with R. 39, taking it as an earlier form made with broken lines, as no. 470 is often made in the older inscriptions. L. 2295 and HWB. 603 a justify the rendering here given.

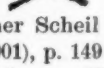
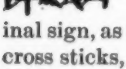
[26] The identification of this sign is not quite certain (cf. R. 530 and 357) but is probably right. L. 3339 gives it as *dišpu*="honey."

[27] This sign is probably not the determinative, as Thureau Dangin thought (*Rev. Sem.* IV, 51), for determinatives are not used in these monuments. It probably stands for the god whose name occurs on monument B, and the line states that the objects which follow were especially presented, probably as votive offerings, to him.

[28] Probably the lance head, on which inscription B is written.

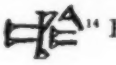
[29] Cf. R. *Sup.* 480; L. 8176 and HWB. 134 b. The sign is a picture of a section of a necklace.

[30] The sign for head, R. 191. Here, perhaps used in the sense of heavy or large; cf. L. 3514.

[31] This sign has not hitherto been identified; cf. R. 550. It is probably a later form of the sign  , which occurs in a very archaic inscription published by Father Scheil in *Recueil de Traveaux*, Vol. XXII (Oct., 1900 and Jan., 1901), p. 149; also in *Textes élamites-sémitiques*, p. 130. It is reproduced below, p. 133. Scheil identifies it tentatively with  , but as it seems to me without sufficient warrant. The original sign, as Scheil's inscription shows, represents a pot supported on two cross sticks, probably over a fire. It is the natural sign by which to

represent a sacrificial feast. The form of the sign BAL found in the Cone of Entemena (iii, 4), cf. R. 17, approaches this in form, though in Entemena the cross sticks have been shortened, and the form of the enlarged pot conventionally changed. I therefore identify this sign with R. 17, interpreted through L. 271 and HWB. 479 ff. as "libation." Cf. also p. 131.

Monument B.

1. GANA[1] L LU[2] SAL[3] NIN-GIR-SU[4]
2. GA[5]-A[6]
3. ĠA-ĠA'-TAB-BAR (?)[8]
4. ALAN[9]-NI[10] ŠU[11]
5. GIR[12] GIN[13]
6.  [14] EŠ[15] KU[16]

Translation.

1. A stated sacrifice[1] of 50 ewes[2] to Ningirsu[4]
2. appointed[5]
3. Khakha[7] tab-bar (?).
4. His[10] monument[9] for (his) preservation[11],
5. a lance,[12] he brought,[13]
6. in the beautifully built temple he placed.

Notes on Monument B.

[1] Cf. R. 20; L. 3176 and HWB. 201 b.

[2] Thureau Dangin identified this sign with IK or GAL. (*Rev. Sem.*, IV, 51), i. e. R. 45 (?). A variant to Hilprecht's *OBI.* No. 87, col. ii, l. 44, is identical with our sign. There the sense makes it evident that it is the sign for sheep, LU. Radau (*Early Babylonian History*, p. 137 n.) takes it as L. 10242, or L. 10256, but renders as though it were L. 10697. Delitzsch has pointed out, *Ursprung der Keilschriftzeichen*, p. 188, that the oldest form of LU ( ) was made up of signifying "enclose" or "enclosure" and some marks denoting that something was enclosed. The sign before us makes it evident, however, that the words *immeru* "ass" and *ṣinu* "sheep" became associated with LU because it at the first represented an enclosure, or fold, in which a pair of ears were pictured (cf. R. 281) to represent animals, the combination representing "enfolded" or "domestic animals." L. 10242 and L. 10256 may both have developed from this pictograph also, as Radau thinks, but I believe the sign to be an older form of R. 436.

[3] Cf. R. 327 and L. 10920.

[4] The reading of this name Menant long ago perceived; cf. *Revue archaeologique*, Vol. XII, p. 364.

[5] Cf. R. 560, and L. 6322.

[6] One of the forms of R. 470. Here it is a phonetic complement, or sign of an emphatic form.

[7] Cf. R. 251. The fish form of the original pictograph is here most evident.

[8] This sign was not hitherto identified (cf. R. 536). It occurs also on an unedited tablet in Paris (cf. R. *Sup.* 536, and p. I), and also twice on an unedited tablet in the E. A. Hoffman collection in New York. From its connection on the latter tablet I tentatively take it as R. 54, plus R. 29 (cf. 432).

[9] For this Sumerian vocalization of this sign (R. 108), a vocalization not given in L., cf. *Cuneiform Texts From Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum*, Pt. XI. (London, 1900), p. 18, col. vi, l. 43.

[10] Cf. R. 82 and L. 4600.

[11] This sign has hitherto remained a puzzle. Dr. Ward (*Amer. Jour. of Arch.*, 1st Series, Vol. IV. (1888), p. 41) describes it as a bird's wing. Thureau Dangin (R. 561) leaves it unidentified. I think Dr. Ward's suggestion is right, and as the wing and hand correspond physiologically, I regard this as an older form of (R. 112), equal to *gimillu*, "preservation" (L. 7070). This view is sustained by the fact that later the sign for wing was written by the sign for hand plus something, thus (cf. R. 115 and L. 6552), but which even when so written meant also side or hand. It is probable, therefore, that in the earliest form of the writing the sign for the two was the same. It would be very natural for the idea of preservation to be conveyed by this sign. The fact that another sign was also used for wing (R. 66, cf. L. 5571) is no real objection to the view here taken. Two views are possible with reference to the origin of R. 66. I incline to think that it was a rude representation of the body and spread wings of a flying bird and that it first represented the idea of "sending," "going aloft," etc., from which in time the ideas of "fighting" were derived because so many of their missions were of a military character. In form, however, it is similar in archaic writing with R. 39, which Delitzsch (*Urspr. der Keilschriftzeichen*, p. 160) regards as a representation of irrigating canals. This may be a differentiation of that sign, the idea of "sending" being derived from the act of conveying water where one wished, and other words being associated with it for the same reasons as above. Then the sign might come to represent "wing," because the wing is such an implement of motion. Of these possible explanations, I regard the former as most probable; but then in the case of this sign the emphasis of the thought was not on the wing itself, but on the motion which the spread wing produced. With the sign the case was altogether different; the emphasis was in the first instance on the wing itself, or on the hand which corresponds physiologically to it, and

other meanings, such as "preservation," are derived from that. Whichever origin of PA, "wing," may seem most probable, therefore, will not affect the identification here made of the sign with ŠU.

[12] Cf. R. 3. The sign was originally the picture of an arrow head with grooves for the strings which fastened it to the shafts of the arrow. For meaning cf. L. 309. I take it to refer to the lance-shaped object on which the inscription is written.

[13] This is a rude representation of a foot, the sign which represented the verbs "go," "establish," "found," etc. The latter meanings coming from the fact that the old Sumerians, like us, were accustomed to "put down their feet." For the identification and interpretation cf. R. 304; L. 4871 and HWB. 66 b. Thureau Dangin (R. 549) seems to me to hesitate unnecessarily over this identification.

[14] This sign I take to be an older form of R. 177. For meaning cf. L. 5780 and HWB. 76 b.

[15] Cf. R. 345; L 3817.

[16] Cf. R. 467, 468; L. 10542 and HWB. 448 ff.

It is evident that these monuments record an act of worship which took the form of a feast, accompanied by special thank offerings which were to remain in the temple, and that their author in his thankfulness provided for a regular sacrifice. They are of the same general nature as the inscription published in de Sarzec's *Decouvertes* pl. 1 bis. Although these objects were found near Warka (cf. Ward in *Amer. Jour. of Arch.* for 1888, p. 39), the mention of Ningirsu, the chief god of Shirpurla, shows that they were originally connected with that city.

If Ur-Kagina lived about 4500 B. C., these monuments would have to be assigned to 5000 B. C. or earlier. Radau (*op. cit.* p. 12) is perhaps right in assigning them to 5500 B. C.

Addition to n. 31, Monument A.

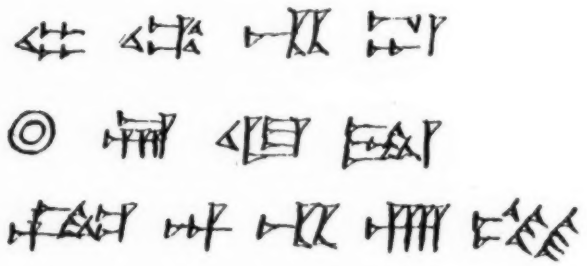
The form of the sign BAL which occurs in Eannadu, and which ultimately displaced our sign, is a picture of a pot with a stream of liquid flowing out from it. Perhaps in the older writing both that form and this were found and in time the simpler one prevailed.

The form of the sign on the Blau monument resembles a sign in the Cretan and Proto-Egyptian pictographs which in Berber had the value *ts.* (cf. Evans in *Jour. of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. xvii, p. 386, and Sergi, *Mediterranean Race*, p. 298). Our Babylonian sign is probably in no way connected with these.

Notes on an Archaic Inscription published by Father Scheil.

by GEORGE A. BARTON, Professor in Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Penna.

In the last number of *Receuil de Traveaux* (Vol. XXII, Liv. 4, p. 149 ff.), Father Scheil has published a most interesting Babylonian inscription which is almost hieroglyphic. He has also published it in his *Textes élamites-sémitiques*, which has since come to hand. He has accompanied it with a tentative transcription into late Assyrian characters, as follows :



Father Scheil is uncertain whether the line which he has put first should not be third, and the third, first.

As the inscription is of such interest palæographically, and as it seems to me that Father Scheil's tentative transcription can be improved,[1] I have ventured to reproduce it with a tentative transliteration and translation and a few notes. Of such a brief inscription, in a character so archaic, any translation is in the present state of our knowledge most uncertain.

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[1] Most of the signs are rightly identified by Scheil. Where I have ventured to differ from him the difference is fully explained in the notes.

I would read it, beginning at the right, as follows :

1. GA[1] DU[2] EN[3] GUB[4]
2. SAR[5] GANA[6] KI[7] SIG[8] (?)
3. BAL[9] (?) LAL[10] DINGIR EN NUN[11] ĠIR[12]

That is,

1. Gaduengub.
2. 600 BUR[5] of a field[6] (in) the land[7] controls (?).[8]
3. A libation[9] he pours out[10]; may the god, lord of Eridu,[11] bless!"[12]

Notes.

[1] An older form of the sign given in Thureau Dangin's *Recherches* (cited hereafter as R.), No. 262.

[2] Scheil acutely identified this with R. 260. It is clearly a picture of a covered and probably steaming pot. That explains why the sign was used to represent the opposite ideas of "rejoicing" (Brünnow's *List* cited below as L. 9138), and "being afraid" [*galadu*] (L. 9141), the former arising from thoughts of the good things cooking in the pot, and the latter from the burning effects of its heat.

[3] A somewhat older form of R. 341 than that on the Blau Monuments. I take these four signs to be the name of the worshipper.

[4] Clearly equivalent to R. 304.

[5] Cf. R. 512. It might also be R. 490, in which case it might be rendered "36000 fields;" but the analogy of several passages in the inscription of Manishtu-irba (Scheil's *Textes élamites-sémitiques* col. v. l. 16; col. viii, l. 5, etc.) makes it probable that in connection with GANA, it denotes area. An unedited archaic text in the E. A. Hoffman collection, of which Miss Ellen Seton Ogden has kindly furnished me a copy, contains this very sign in the meaning of 600 BUR.

[6] Cf. R. 20 and L. 3177.

[7] Clearly an old form of R. 254.

[8] Scheil's identification of this sign seems to me quite impossible. There is no resemblance to the archaic forms of R. 115. I tentatively identify it with R. *Sup.* 464, of which it may be an older form, and interpret it through L. 10781 and HWB. 684 a.

[9] Here again Scheil's identification seems to me out of the question. This sign resembles a sign on the Blau Monument A (cf. R. 550). The reasons for identifying it with BAL (R. 17), I have given in n. 30 to Blau Monument A. That meaning seems justified by the connection in both inscriptions.

[10] This sign, the long lines at right angles to each other in the left line of the inscription, Scheil leaves unexplained, or regards as a part of the preceding sign. I identify it with R. 440; cf. L. 10112 and HWB. 679.

[11] Clearly R. 43. As these archaic inscriptions omit determinatives, it seems probable that this may stand for Eridu (cf. L. 2645); if so, the god is Ea.

[12] Here again Scheil's identification seems capable of improvement. The sign is not R. 59, but R. 152 (cf. *Sup.*). It is an older form of 152 than any which Thureau Dangin has given. For the meaning see L. 4314. The transliteration of this sign given above is not intended to indicate its Sumerian pronunciation, which for this meaning is unknown, but simply as an identification of the sign.

Notes on the Japanese Lyric Drama.—By Ernest F. Fenollosa, of New York.

This interesting and important phase of the oriental drama has been touched upon briefly by Chamberlain and Aston as a branch of Japanese literature; but it has never yet been studied as a whole, even as literature, and never in its wealth of æsthetic features, music, costume, spiritual meaning, action, nor in its origin, its history, and its present condition.

As early as 1880, I began to study it in Tokio, taking private lessons from Mr. Umewaka, who had been before 1868 a leading soloist in the Shogun's troupe, and from whose lips I took down the Japanese text, writing over it on an improvised "staff," and in European notation, an approximation to the sounds of the chant. Since 1897 I have been making it a special study, under the same teacher, who is now the head of the present revival in the art. For translating the difficult text I have had the collaboration of several Japanese scholars, as also for my effort to penetrate to the early history, the data for which exist only in scattered references. The rendering of the music, the dances, the symbolism, the staging, all this can be learned only from the tradition of the actors; and, besides my private lessons, Mr. Umewaka has given me freely his memories of the customs of the stage in old court days. From such studies, pursued further, I hope at no distant day to publish a treatise on the whole subject.

The importance of this early Japanese drama, in a wide comparative study, is evidenced by the many features in which it suggests, if it does not parallel, the ancient Athenian drama. Its text is metrical in its more important parts and the more imaginative portions are sung or chanted by the soloists, individually or in unison; a chorus with very powerful unison-singing cuts into the main dialogue, or expands for the audience the emotion which the soloist is perhaps expressing by mute dancing; the principal actors wear carved wooden masks, which are individualized for almost every leading character in the extant plays; there is an orchestral accompaniment of four instruments, the large drum, the large hand-drum, the small hand-drum, and the

flute; the orchestral performers add certain vocal cries which have the force of accents; costume in rich color, posture, and pantomimic dance play as important a part in the symphony to the eye as the text and chant do to the ear; there is no stage scenery; the subjects are mostly serious, belonging to early national history, tinged with religious myth, and exhibiting a frequent interplay between mortals and spirits; the action is ordinarily slow, dignified and solemn, rising in the more tragic portions to a rapidity and force which never cross the bounds of violence, and hiding, as did the Greek drama, scenes of uncontrolled passion from the eye of the spectator. It is thus a highly complex form of operatic art, whose aim is never sensational or realistic, but to lift the beholder, through a refined appeal to several of his faculties, into a single state of intense and imaginative emotional impression.

In most of these respects the "*Nō*," or Japanese lyric drama, differs radically from the legitimate and popular drama of the modern Japanese stage. This latter is written in prose, its text is not sung, its set scenery is elaborate, its subjects are ordinary human passions, its action is violent and tragic; in brief, its aim is purely realistic. In time, too, a modern play may occupy several hours, or a whole day; but no piece of the *Nō* opera much exceeds forty minutes in performance. As pure art, this brevity and the general simplicity are perhaps an advantage; for there is no distraction or strain of attention; every beauty is fully comprehended by the audience, the concentration upon a single emotional theme becomes transparent, as it were, and thus, as in the Greek drama, the intensity of effect depends rather upon quality than upon quantity.

This lyric drama sprang up at Kioto in the fifteenth century, at the very moment when the importation of symbolic Buddhism, of Chinese poetry and landscape painting from the continent of Asia had relieved the long strain of previous feudal warfare. Japan seemed drifting away from herself. The old Japanese lyric stanza was exhausted. The peaceful days of palace refinement, in which highly educated ladies had figured as leading novelists, lay three hundred years in the past. The new Chinese ideals almost blotted out their memory. But at this very crisis came the national drama, as the last link with a vanishing past. Its very flow of dramatic form freed it from the pedantry of the old lyrics. The rich Buddhist idealism broadened and gave

specific moral meaning to the national myths. The brilliant novels and the epic romances of an earlier age were broken up into a rich quarry of dramatic fragments. In form it was a remarkable synthesis of Chinese and Japanese elements; in matter it transmitted the Japanese consciousness of the tenth century to the seventeenth. Were it not for the influence of these national plays through the last five hundred years, the purer phases of early Japanese culture would have been intelligible to a few scholars only. Out of these plays the popular realistic drama grew by somewhat violent transformations.

The study of the origin of this drama is especially difficult, because the early phases have so largely disappeared. But, briefly, I have traced the line of descent thus.

In ancient China, as in ancient Japan, there was enacted on ceremonial occasions a court pantomime, dances accompanied by instrumental music but generally without text, symbolic of the traditional deeds of gods or of early mythic heroes. I have seen these as they are still, though rarely, performed at the Japanese court. By the ninth century the two national forms, Chinese and Japanese, were cultivated side by side at Kioto. By the tenth they had amalgamated, with the Chinese features dominant.

Another Japanese root of the *Nō* was the Shinto sacred dance (such as is seen to-day at the large Shinto temples), which originally symbolized the deeds of some nature-spirit. This was probably more akin to the early Greek religious dances. How far it was originally a part of the chanted ritual, is now hard to determine.

An analogous form came in with Buddhism. Here religious pantomimic plays, with elaborate costumes, and masks representing spiritual beings, were common in the great Japanese temples of the eighth century. Some of these "miracle plays" have been preserved by clubs of village actors until to-day, as in European centres, I have seen one twelve hundred years old in Yamato.

But a more truly dramatic and popular type of dance arose about the twelfth century, in the local religious festivals of the villages, such as one can see to-day in a thousand places. Local traditions of apparitions, of temple founding, of village heroes, are there celebrated, often by humorous and violent action. In some cases a brief dialogue was used. Certain troupes of these actors, originally drawn from villagers, began to travel to neighboring districts, and enact their scenes at fairs.

The fairs of the Middle Ages, therefore, became the centre of this movement. As in Europe, they were held in the fields, generally near to some celebrated temple; and here gathered the jugglers, the acrobats, the trainers of animals, the story tellers, the singers of incipient epics, and the troupes from the villages, who played the comic interludes. Here it was that the several shows exercised mutual influence, and the lyric or epic element of the ballad singers became added to the pantomime. The rough actors, fencing, uttered cries and denunciations; rude dialogue followed. The chanted accompaniment at the side of the stage became the germ of the chorus. This had grown into a recognized form of comedy by the fourteenth century, called Dengaku, or "field plays."

In the fifteenth century, with the great new wave of Chinese culture, came the literary knowledge of the Mongol drama, which had arisen in China in the fourteenth. This model undoubtedly spurred the Japanese to expand and dignify their field drama. But the new Japanese compound was far richer than the Mongol, because into it was consciously drawn the many converging lines of national accomplishment. Japanese poetry was recast for it, the chanted epics became its subject, Buddhism added moral intensity, Shinto a pervading spiritism, religious pantomimes the masks and costumes, the field comedies the staging and visible dramatic structure.

The history of the composition of these new works is obscure. Modern Japanese are inclined to ascribe the new texts to Buddhist priests. But after the start I think there is reason to believe that some of the actors themselves composed the entire pieces: text, music, and action. The profession descended, as in all forms of Japanese labor, by inheritance from father to son, and thus a practical knowledge of all sides of his business grew up with the young actor. He alone could have apprehended the intense dramatic unity of impression. The great actors of the three generations at Kioto, and under the direct patronage of the Ashikaga Shoguns, composed or re-adapted most of the plays now extant, before the end of the fifteenth century. Many were added in the sixteenth, but these were poorer and are now lost. In the seventeenth, the patronage of these plays passed to the Tokugawa house of Shoguns at Yedo, who saw their value as educational institutions, and encouraged their performance at every local daimio's court. A list of five hundred selected plays,

soon reduced to three hundred, was made, as it were, canonical—no change or addition was afterward allowed, and thus the art became a rigid, if beautiful, tradition for three hundred years. In the middle of the eighteenth century, the list was still further reduced to two hundred; and though the texts of the remainder are still preserved, their music and acting tradition have been lost. These two hundred plays, enacted at Tokio to-day, are pretty faithful versions of the performance, as known in the seventeenth century, and comprise the best work of the early composers. Through five hundred years the head of the troupe was the lineal descendant of the ancient Shakespeares. In 1868, when the Shogunate fell, these actors, a large army of them, were dispersed into other professions. But in 1873, Mr. Umewaka, second soloist under the Shogun, got together a few performers and revived the art, from his own memory and from the old stage books in his possession. Since then, it has gradually become a fashionable fad with the Japanese conservatives, and now has no enemies but those who, from within, would like to change it in the direction of realism.

We have interesting descriptions left us from the fifteenth century of the motley groups encamped on the open fields about Kioto, watching the Nara troupe which had come up at the Shogun's invitation to perform these early plays. The stage was circular, raised but a few feet above the green, and about it on all sides crouched the crowd in democratic good humor; behind them a temporary scaffolding held the grandees, and a narrow way led from the back of the stage to a dressing room far in the rear.

In the seventeenth century the stage was modified to its present form, in order to include it as part of a group of palace buildings. To-day it is about eighteen feet square, with a roof resting on four massive corner columns, and with the approach from the dressing room bent into a crowded gallery leading from the left. On a sort of balcony addition on the right sit the chorus, numbering from ten to twenty; on a similar balcony at the back, which is in fact the continuation of the gallery, are placed the four musicians. The back is closed by a solid partition which throws the voice forward. On two sides—the front and left—the ground is left open for a space, to accommodate the humbler spectators (the "groundlings," in fact), recalling the primitive field. Beyond the field are built up the palace audience

rooms, facing the stage on three sides. The Shogun and his dignitaries sat in the front boxes.

The solo players in a single piece number on the average about five, though in certain plays they are reduced to two, and in others augmented to about fifteen. There is always a hero, or chief agent, the protagonist, whose part can only be acted by the head of a troupe. Next comes the actor who presses the hero from the side, not necessarily a tragic opponent, sometimes an intimate friend. Between these two the main action of the piece is developed. Many of the plays are in two acts, in the first of which the hero often takes mortal form, while in the second he represents a spirit.

Women never appear as actors. All female parts, all spirits in their proper form, and many of the moral hero rôles are acted behind masks. The costumes are the richest examples of oriental coloring.

A performance often lasts for a whole day, including about five full tragic plays and four comic interludes. These latter are close lineal descendants of the ancient field plays. The audience holds a libretto with both text and the more important parts of the musical score written and printed in a peculiar running character. The great actors were and are social favorites, holding some rank, and invited to high private functions, unlike the plebeians of the vulgar stage.

And there is ground for this distinction; for the *Nō* actor conceives of his work in the loftiest spirit. Strictest morality, and pure, high thinking are enforced upon the young aspirant, as the most important part of his discipline. He studies carefully history and poetry. He becomes absorbed in his part as a kind of spiritual act; for how can he express adequately the mentality of gods, if his soul is not already as pure as a god's? This high earnestness goes far to explain the intense impression of those plays. The audience is swayed to tears, carried to the crest of noblest emotion: a better example of the Aristotelian *katharsis* could hardly be discovered.

The subjects of the extant plays may be divided into several vaguely marked groups. Those which have come down as fragments of the ancient romances we might call the "epic" group. These again are of two sorts, expressing either the peaceful ideal of the ancient Fujiwara court in the tenth century or the upheaval of the first feudal civil wars in the twelfth. Much of the ancient

Japanese lyric poetry filters through these, the more national of the plays.

Another set might be called the spirit or folk-lore group, because the action turns on some law of human intercourse with the spirit world. These might also be called the Shinto group, for they are more closely related to the ancient Shinto dances or ceremonies.

Another might be called the Buddhist or social group, bringing out the healthy morality of normal human relations. Here the action turns upon expressing some single emotion, as love of parents, of brothers, of nature, or again, on the evil side, jealousy, anger, treachery, discords, generally resolved by the intervention of a Buddhist priest.

Among these emotional groups, two might be specified. The "Loyalty" group especially brings out the moral fineness of sacrifice. This passion of loyalty to a superior was in the Mongol drama of China; it forms the strongest note in the popular Japanese drama of to-day, and is a force which the western world will have to reckon with, as it underlies the present martial enthusiasm of Japan.

The other special group is, of course, the love-group, love in the narrower sense, as between man and woman. This never descends to weak sentiment. We feel rather than see this love enacted as a great unspoken tragedy. The individual and society are at war; to have loved, though in vain, here appears to reach the highest exaltation of spirit. Tears roll down the faces of even old men in the audience.

There remain the comedies, which I shall not touch on here, and the idyls, conceptions so delicate and poetic, that we can give them only an æsthetic classification. Such sometimes represent the pathetic beauty of an insane soul, the flowering of the spirit of a blind man, the souls of two dead, hopeless lovers, seen entering together their mossy grave on the hillside, or the spirit of the wild chrysanthemum flower materializing as a beautiful boy, or of old pine trees at a temple. Let it be remembered that the verbal setting of these pieces involves a very high quality of poetry.

Now I am sorry to say that I have only a few moments left to speak of one or two special plays, and give you the taste of a few literary extracts.

The play called Kinvta, or the Cloth-beating (of which I have the libretto here), represents a lady in the country, who thinks

that her husband has deserted her, gradually going mad for love, and taking up in her madness, by moonlight especially, the monotonous, rhythmical act of cloth-beating, the Japanese equivalent for our ironing. This theme of the mad rhythm gradually sweeps into itself all other themes: love, reproach, desire to injure, the sounds of nature, the calling of death, death itself and the freeing of the soul by Buddhist prayers from the burden of hate. Here are a few extracts.

Lady: "Even a man in a very far village may be seeing (this moon)."

Chorus: "Perhaps the moon will not call upon her, saying: "Whose night-world is this?"

Lady: "Ah, lovely season! And it is the time, too, of the evenings of Autumn,—"

Chorus: "When the voice of the male deer, inclining the heart to sorrow, sends mountain-winds which she cannot see.

* * * * *

The shadow of the moon in a sky, calm to awfulness, reflecting on love-grass under the eaves,—"

Lady: "Poor soul, hanging like a curtain sown with gems of dew!"—

Chorus: "O what a night for power to unsheave her sorrows!
The clock of the palace standing high, the wind sweeps it from the North,
The cloth-beating in the neighborhood sounding now slowly, now rapidly,—
The moon flows down to the West.

* * * * *

Take thought even of the pines that are near the eaves of the home—
Do not let escape you the sound of the storm in their branches.

* * * * *

Thither, yonder, where my lord is, blow there, O wind!
By blowing, too hard, O pine-tree wind, break not his vision of my breaking heart.

* * * * *

On! On! Let me beat these broken cloths.

* * * * *

The waves of the sky-river rise like shears to cut.

* * * * *

If he be the floating plant of the water-shadow, wave-
beat and break it on the shore, O foam !—
The color of the moon, the breath-color of the wind :
Even to the point of frost gathering in the shadow,
The sound of cloth-beating, storms at night,
The cry of sorrow, the hum of insects,
Of these all composed into a falling tear-dew,
"Horo, horo, hara, hara," whispering,
Which of all these is the sound of the cloth-beating?"

Babylonian and Pre-Babylonian Cosmology.—By WILLIAM F. WARREN, Boston University, Boston, Mass.

For many years the present writer has believed that current ideas as to the cosmology of the Babylonians and of the Hebrews are destined to give place to new and more intelligent ones. The illustrative diagrams given by Hommel in his "Babylonischer Ursprung der Aegyptischen Kultur," by Jensen in his "Kosmologie," by Maspero in his "Dawn of Civilization," by Myer in his "Qabalah," by Whitehouse in his article on "Cosmogony" in the new Dictionary of the Bible edited by James Hastings, all differ from each other, and in my judgment differ yet more from the historic world-concept they were constructed to illustrate. I am confident that better can already be drawn, diagrams that, with a single modification to be noted hereafter, will show how incredibly vast and balanced and beautiful was the long-lost world-view of the fathers of Semitic culture.

Section 1.—The Babylonian Heavens.

Every diagram illustrative of the earliest Semitic Cosmos hitherto given us by professed Assyriologists, has provided but a single heaven, the '*rakia*,' or 'firmament' of Gen. i, 6. That this is not enough must be manifest to any reader who is capable of following the few simple directions now to be given, namely:

In the middle of the middle line of a uniformly ruled page place a microscopic dot to represent the centre of the earth. In the ninth space above it write "An shar;" and in the ninth below, write "Ki-shar." These terms are said to mean respectively the 'great totality of what is on high' and the 'great totality of what is below.' (See Jastrow, Religion of the Ancient Babylonians, p 417. Undesignated numbers in this paper are page references to this work.) Immediately at the right of Ki-shar add the word "Ki-gal," with the mathematical sign of equivalence between them, it being simply another name for "Ki-shar," or the under-world in general (562). Just above An-shar, on the tenth line, write "Abode of Ashur;" and in like manner, close below Ki-shar, the words, "Abode of Nin-ki-gal."

As "An-shar" may be read 'King of the Sky' or 'Upper World,' "Nin-ki-gal" means 'Queen of the Great Beneath.' (On the former, 197; on the latter, 584.) Exactly below the earth on each of the eight nearest lines, omitting the third, place a dot, thus indicating the depth of the under-world. In like manner place seven dots above the earth, so indicating the height of heaven. Let the seven dots below the earth represent the seven gates through which the goddess Ishtar passed in her famous visit to the Queen of the Nether World. Similarly let the seven dots above the earth represent the seven gates of the skies spoken of in the legend of Etana's bold attempt to ascend to the heaven of Ishtar. Now, to the right of the earth and on the same line with it, place seven dots at exactly the same intervals as separate those in the vertical line, also in like manner place seven at the left. Next connect the two dots nearest to the earth on the horizontal line by two dotted elliptical curves, one passing just above and one just below the earth dot. This narrow ellipse will represent the path of the moon-god, Nannar, or Sin, as he makes his nightly round. Through the four points nearest to the earth, strike a perfect circle, and the thus outlined globe is the sphere belonging to the moon-god, the world in every part of which he is the acknowledged lord and governor. As there is no vegetable or animal growth above it, he is appropriately called the 'lord of growth.' Connect now the next two points in the horizontal line by a new and larger ellipse, and we have the daily round of the Sun-god Utu (Shamash). Strike a circle connecting the second set of four dots equidistant from the earth and we have in outline the sphere or heaven of Utu. The next wider circle drawn in the same way gives us the heaven of Tutu (Nabu or Nebo); the next that of Ishtar; the next that of Nergal; the next that of Nibir (Marduk); the next, or seventh, that of Nindar (Nin-ib). Draw a vertical line through all the dots above and below the earth and it shows the axis on which all these worlds of gods and demons horizontally revolve around the earth from left to right. It will be helpful to write just over each heaven and to the left of the vertical line, the name of the god to which it belongs; and in the corresponding spaces to the right of the vertical line the more familiar equivalents in a descending order as follows: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, Sun and Moon. This done, we see at a glance that the Pythagorean system of the universe, geocentric and with

seven invisible yet solid concentric revolving spheres, is only the late survival of the immemorially ancient world-view of the oldest traceable Semites. Strike one more circle tangent to the twelfth line above and below, to represent the heaven of the fixed stars, and it will be seen that the remaining feature of the system was known to the ancient Babylonians; for in the far invisible southern pole of that starry sphere they placed the abode of En-ki, the king of all that is below, and at the upper starry pole, the changeless, motionless, eternal throne of Anu. (Jastrow, 460. Jensen, "Kosmologie," 24-28, 289.) The great world-highway through all the celestial gates, the *Olam*-doors of Psalm xxiv, was the only way by which gods or men could pass from heaven to heaven, and it was called the "Way of Anu." The corresponding highway through the gates of the underworld was called the "Way of En-ki," or using an equivalent name of the most ancient god, the "Way of Ea."

As the foregoing shows us the meaning of the seven heavens of primordial Chaldean theology and science, so it aids us to understand that division of the universe which makes the third heaven the highest of all. In this grouping the first is the sublunar or atmospheric heaven; the second, the heaven in which all the planets and planetary gods are found; the third is the heaven of the unoriginated Anu, the heaven of his starry host. In the first, Ramman was the appointed lord. In the second, Nin-dar bore the primacy until, owing to the growing power of Babylon, that city's chief patron, Nibir (Marduk), gradually succeeded to the headship of the planetary pantheon. In the third, the eternal and unchangeable, Anu was lord and overlord of all. By adding to the seven planetary heavens that of Ramman and that of Anu, we have the "nine heavens" found in various mythological expressions.

Contrasted with what our scholars have hitherto ascribed to this people, what a stupendous world-concept was this. What architectonic power of imagination here found expression. And since every part was hallowed by divine presences and powers, what a temple of temples, heaven above heaven, and shrine within shrine. In complexness even the Revelator's apocalyptic vision of the perfected City of God does not approach it. Imagine the indignant astonishment of an ancient Babylonian on being shown a diagram of the cosmological system now currently ascribed to him.

Section II. The Babylonian Earth.

Assyriologists are agreed that the fundamental form of Babylonian temples was that of a staged pyramid on a quadrangular base. They are agreed that this form was intended to represent in a symbolical miniature the vast mountain, Kharsag-kurkura, on which men and the gods most closely related to men were belived to have been created. They are further agreed that as heaven is seven-storied, so earth, E-kur, the 'mountain-home', 'mountain-abode', or literally 'mountain-house' of men and of all those gods whose home is the earth, is seven-staged, the lowest of the seven being diked about by the four seas and the uppermost being in exclusive possession of the gods. Considering the fact that in the cosmology of the ancient Egyptians, Persians, Indians, and Chinese we find the same strange notion that, while the terrestrial horizon is everywhere circular, the earth is nevertheless four-square, I was recently, after years of mental resistance, brought to the full conviction that the seven-staged pyramid was the form under which the Babylonians and even their Sumerian predecessors conceived of the earth considered as the abode of living men. That which enabled me to reach this conclusion was the discovery that the E-kur of our upper world required for its completion a precisely similar but inverted counterpart extending into Ki-gal, the great nether world, and that the puzzling texts with which Jeremias and Jensen have vainly wrestled were at once made clear by the recognition of two E-kurs, an upper and a nether one. This duplication of the world-mountain was first suggested by the all-ruling principle of symmetry and bipolarity in this remarkable cosmos, and as soon as I had drawn the earth-sun-and-moon system with this feature included, a multitude of puzzling cosmological expressions became at once "sun-clear." No reader of this paper can be more surprised at my result than was I. Let me not deprive any who may be interested of the pleasure of constructing for himself my new diagram. The directions he will need to observe are simple.

From a uniformly ruled page cut a portion including just sixteen of the ruled spaces. Make its width such that when the eighth and ninth spaces are folded in a pleat upon each other the paper will be a perfect square.

Fold each of the upper corners down evenly to the middle of the seventh space. Fold them back again and with a pencil drop to the second line perpendiculars from the point where the creases

cross the top line, continuing the process from line to line downwards until the seven-staged pyramid is formed. Rotate the paper one hundred and eighty degrees and produce the second corresponding pyramid. Fill the vacant eighth and ninth spaces with the fine zigzag lines that in ancient Chaldæan and Egyptian idiographs represented water. After pasting the paper in the centre of a large leaf, place one point of a pair of dividers in the centre of the waters and strike two circles, the one tangent to the top of the topmost stage of the pyramid, the second tangent to the top of the second. From each point where the outer circle cuts the sixth line from the top, draw a dotted elliptical curve dipping down in the middle to the seventh line; continue it upward on its return into itself on both sides until the inclosed pyramid would hide it from view. The diagram is now complete, except that a few letters will facilitate its explanation. Write "A" above and "B" below the greater circle; also "C" at the left and "D" at the right. Write "E" just below the top of the small circle, and "F" just above it at the bottom; then "G" at the left and "H" at the right. Between the dotted lines on the left of the pyramid write "I," and between them on the right, "J." In the waters, right and left, write "KK."

The interpretation is by this time plain. The pyramid "E" is the upper E-kur, *i. e.*, the world of living men; "F," the lower E-kur, *i. e.*, the under-world. "KK" is one of the four seas separating the two E-kurs, and serving each as a world-dike. "I" and "J" is the daily round of the sun-god at the time of the summer solstice, or the daily record of his disc-bearing attendants Malik and Buene, in case he is taking a siesta with his wife Malkatu, or is playing to the superior gods a visit of ceremony. A similar dotted ellipse near the equatorial regions of the smaller circle, and wholly within it, would show the average path of the moon-god. The circle "ABCD" is the solstitial colure of the sphere of the sun-god, or its equivalent great circle. "A" marks a most interesting point of which more will be said in another paper.

The human tenants of the upper E-kur reside in lands near one of "the four seas." They are, therefore, at the foot of the seven staged pyramid. As the top stages are in possession of more spiritual beings and Utu's dazzling throne is at the top, we can easily see how the god of heaven appearing to the dreaming Jacob should seem to stand at the foot of a ladder-like ascent

from earth to heaven. In his Semitic world-view there ever stand between him and the Most High precisely these pyramidal stages,

"The world's great altar-stairs that slope through darkness up to God."

Again, as the lowest of these E-kur stages is peopled by beings resembling the fairies and trolls of our folklore, and the others by orders of beings higher and ever higher in nature in ascending series, it is not strange that in this marvelously and incalculably symmetrical cosmos we find the seven stages mentally pictured as seven horizontal and quadrangular heavens, supplementing and at the same time contrasting with the higher spherical seven heavens of the gods. The confusion of the two orders, the earthly and the astral, by writers or redactors who were ignorant of the original system has given us the unintelligible and chaotic enumerations and descriptions of seven heavens in such writings as "The Ascension of Isaiah," "The Book of Enoch," "The Book of the Secrets of Enoch," etc. In general it is correct to say that all cosmological expressions in Rabbinical literature present simply the debris of a no longer understood world-concept, the sublimely beautiful universe of the oldest traceable men.[1]

The lowest E-kur corresponds, of course, to the upper. In place of seven horizontal quadrangular heavens we have here seven horizontal quadrangular hells. And as the highest of the seven heavens is the brightest in the universe, that of the sun; so the undermost of these hells is the hottest in the universe, that of the sun. Moreover, in descending from hell to hell in due succession one passes seven gates that thus match the far lower seven of the astral under-world,—the seven passed by Ishtar in her descent to Nin-ki-gal. In the mythical story of the descent of Nergal with his earthborn companions, we read, precisely as we should anticipate from his starting point, that he has to pass both series, or

[1] In closing his article on the "Book of the Secrets of Enoch" in Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible, the Rev. R. H. Charles, translator of the work from the Slavonian, remarks: "From this book it is clear that a feature impossible in modern conceptions of heaven shows itself from time to time in pre-Christian and also in early Christian conceptions, that is, the belief in the presence of evil, or in the possibility of its appearance in the heavens." As all creatures in all the *horizontal* heavens, at least below the sphere of Nannar, were imperfect, and were still in some stage of growth, and were living in a realm wherein temptation and trial, cold and heat, darkness and light, were still found, the fact referred to is precisely what should be expected.

fourteen gates in all.[1] Like many another text that at first seemed a stumbling block, this respecting the fourteen gates proves a striking confirmation of the here presented reconstruction of the under-world.

In the former section, before my first diagram was described, it was intimated that a slight modification would later be noted. The same modification is necessary in the second diagram. For the sake of greater simplicity and ease of construction I made the height of all the pyramid-stages uniform, also the intervals between the heavens were all uniform except that the one between the heavens of Utu and Tutu, and the one between the heavens of Ashur and Anu were made multiples of the uniform unit. This does not correspond with the thought of the Babylonians. They thought of the planetary heavens as farther and farther apart the higher they rose; and in this they anticipated modern science. Whether the intervals given by Plato in his account of the Music of the Spheres correspond to those taught by the ancient Babylonian astronomers is not known.

Finally it should be particularly noted and constantly borne in mind that in both concepts, that of the heavens and that of the earth, zenith and Arctic pole were originally identical. The axis of the earth was perpendicular in position and all the heavenly bodies moved in horizontal planes about it. Even Professor Maspero was so impressed by the evidence of this that in a footnote to page 544 of his "Dawn of Civilization," he used this for him remarkable language: "The general resemblance of their theory of the universe to the Egyptian theory leads me to believe that they (the early Chaldæans) no less than the Egyptians, for a long time believed that the sun and moon revolved around the earth in a horizontal plane."

The foregoing interpretation of ancient Caldæan cosmology is submitted to the judgment of scholars, especially to experts in cuneiform literature, in the confident belief that it will be found distinctly illuminating, not only in every field of Semitic mythology, but also in the study of the mythologies of several other ancient peoples, who, in one measure or another, received intellectual stimulus from pre-historic Chaldæan culture.

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[1] Jastrow, 584.

Contributions to Avestan Syntax, the Subordinate Clause.—By Louis H. Gray, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

A study of the subordinate clause in Avestan is important for the syntax of Indo-Germanic as well as of Indo-Iranian, since Avestan, Old Persian, Sanskrit, and Greek are the only dialects which have preserved the primitive distinction between the subjunctive and the optative, the chief moods of the subordinate clause. In view of previous contributions[1] to this subject, I shall confine myself to temporal, causal, characteristic, and final clauses, and to the types which may be called indirect question and indirect discourse. In such clauses the indicative seems to denote reality, while the dependent moods, subjunctive, optative, and injunctive express more or less desirable contingencies. The same modal distinctions, I think, hold here which I have sought to show elsewhere in my studies on the syntax of the Avesta (*Annals N. Y. Acad. Sciences*, xii. 549–552, 562).

The conjunctions which introduce subordinate clauses in Avestan are *yaṯ* (*GAv. hyaṯ*), *yaθā*, *yadā*, *yavaṯ*, *yavata*, *yaδōiṯ*, and compound conjunctions one of whose parts is derived from the stem *ya-*. The cognates of Avestan *ya-* are given by Hermann, Gab es im Indogermanischen Nebensätze, *Jena Diss.* = *KZ.* xxxiii. 481–535 [cited here as Diss.], 14, Pronomen **i̯os* als Adjektivum, *Coburger Programm* [cited here as Pr.], 15–16. The etymological equivalents of *yavata*, *yaδōiṯ*, and *vīspəm ā ahmāṯ yaṯ* are not found as conjunctions in other Indo-Germanic dialects.

The original meaning of *ya-* is somewhat doubtful. Hermann after an exhaustive discussion concludes that **i̯os* was originally an anaphoric substantive, and that the relative pronoun **i̯os* was derived from it (Pr., 16, 26). This does not seem to me as plausible as the older view that **i̯os* was originally an anaphoric adjective which later developed a relative signification (Windisch, *Curt. Stud.*, ii. 201–419, Jolly, 72–73, 119–120, Spiegel, 525–527, Delbrück, *SF.* i. 30–32, 103, Hermann, Diss., 13–16, Streitberg,

[1] Jolly, *Kapitel vergleichender Syntax*, Spiegel, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, 524–539, Caland, *Zur Syntax der Pronomina im Avesta*, Gray, *Annals N. Y. Academy of Sciences*, xii. 549–588, *JAOS.* xxi. 112–145.

Urgerm. Gramm., 267, Kretschmer, *Einl. in die Gesch. der griech. Spr.*, 14, Brugmann, *Grundr.*, ii. 771, Jacobi, *Comp. u. Nebens.*, 24, 106–107). It seems to me that hypotaxis developed from parataxis (yet see Paul, *Prinzip. der Sprachgesch.*[3], 130–136 as contrasted with Jacobi, *Comp. u. Nebens*, 30–39). This development took place in the period of the ursprache, but at a comparatively late date. Thus we apparently find a dialectic divergency in the ursprache with regard to the word introducing the subordinate clause, for one group of dialects seems to have used **i̯o-*, while the other adopted for the same purpose **qo-*.

So far as the Sanskrit, Avestan, Greek, and Phrygian are concerned, I agree with Caland, 17–18, and Delbrück, *Vgl. Synt.*, iii. 307–310, 445, in regarding *ya-*, ὅς and ως as true relative pronouns.[1]

Neither in Avestan nor in Sanskrit is there any sequence of moods such as is found in Greek (cf. Delbrück, *SF.* i. 83, *Vgl. Synt.*, iii. 439–445).

I have given parallels to the subordinate clauses in Avestan from Sanskrit, Old Persian, and Greek whenever I could find them. The rich collections of material in Delbrück's *Altindische Syntax* (= *SF.* v.), and Goodwin's *Greek Moods and Tenses* (ed. 1897) have been my sources in this respect.[2]

The Iranian traditional renderings in Pahlavi and Sanskrit have been duly consulted in the general interpretation of the Avestan passages employed as examples.

A. Temporal Clauses.

Avestan temporal clauses are introduced by *yaṯ* (GAv. *hyaṯ*), *yadā*, *yaθa*, *yavaṯ*, *yavata*, and by the compounds *parā hyaṯ*, *pasča yaṯ*, *pasčaēta yaṯ*, *vīspəm ā ahmāṯ*.

For previous literature see Jolly, '92, 106–108, Spiegel, *Altbakt. Gramm.*, 333, *Vgl. Gramm.*, 531–534, Delbrück, *Vgl. Synt.*, iii. 322.

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[1] The anaphora in Avestan sentences of the type *azəm yō ahurō mazdå* 'I who (am) Ahura Mazda' is only apparent. The correct explanation, in my judgment, is given by Caland, 18–28, Delbrück, *Vgl. Synt.*, iii. 306–310; cf. *SF.* v. 567. For another explanation see Hermann, Pr., 23–25. In Old Persian the demonstrative pronoun is employed instead of the relative, Delbrück, *Vgl. Synt.* iii., 311–314.

[2] For classical Sanskrit, Speyer, *Sansk. Synt.*, 354–370, should be consulted.

a. Indicative in the Temporal Clause.

1. The Temporal Clause is introduced by *hyaṯ, yaṯ.*

The particle *hyaṯ, yaṯ* is the regular one used to introduce temporal clauses in the Avesta.

Ys. 29. 5 (GAv. verse):
aṯ vā ustānāiš ahvā zastāiš frīnəmnā ahurāi ā
mə̄ urvā gəuščā azyå hyaṯ mazdąm dvaidī fərasābyō.

'then verily were we with uplifted hands praising Ahura, my soul and that of the cow Azi, when we did arouse Mazda to questions.'

Ys. 31. 8 (GAv. verse):
aṯ θwā mənghī pourvīm mazdā yezīm stōi manaŋhā
vaŋhəuš patarəm manaŋhō hyaṯ θwā hə̄m čašmainī hə̄ngrabəm
haiθīm ašahyā dąmim aŋhəuš ahurəm šyaoθanaēšū.

'then with my mind did I think thee, Mazda, to be the first to be worshipped, the father of the Good Mind, when I did behold thee with mine eye, the true creator of Righteousness, the Lord amid the deeds of life.'

Ys. 43. 13 (GAv. verse):
spəntəm aṯ θwā mazdā mənghī ahurā
hyaṯ mā vohū pairī-ǰasaṯ manaŋhā.

'then did I think thee holy, Mazda Ahura, when the Good Mind did come unto me.'

Yt. 5. 4 = Ys. 65. 4 (YAv. verse):
yaozənti vīspe karanō
zrayāi vouru-kašaya
ā vīspō maiδyō yaozaiti
yaṯ hīš aoi fratačaiti
yaṯ hīš aoi fražgaraiti
arədvī sūra anāhita.

'all the borders boil up in the sea Vouru-Kasha, all the middle boils up, when to them flows, when to them runs Aredvi Sūra Anāhita.'

Yt. 10. 1 (YAv. prose):
āaṯ yaṯ miθrəm yim vouru-gaoyaoitīm frādaδąm azəm spitama āaṯ dim daδąm avå̄ntəm yesnyata avå̄ntəm vahmyata yaθa mąmčiṯ yim ahurəm mazdąm.

'then when I created Mithra of broad pastures, O Spitama, then I created him as worthy of praise, as worthy of prayer as myself, Ahura Mazda.'

Yt. **13.** 77 (YAv. verse):

yaṯ titaraṯ aŋrō mainyuš
kāhīm ašahe vaŋhīuš
antarə pairi-avāitəm
vohuča manō ātaršča

'when Angra Mainyu crossed the creation of good Righteousness both the Good Mind and the Fire came to help.'

Vd. **3.** 32 (YAv. prose):
yaṯ yavō dayāṯ āaṯ daēva xᵛīsən.

'when wheat was created (sic!), then the demons started up.'

A temporal clause introduced by *yaṯ* may sometimes have a quasi-concessive meaning. An example of such a sentence is Yt. **10.** 21 (YAv. verse):

yaṯčiṯ hvastəm aŋhayeiti
yaṯčiṯ tanūm apayeiti
aṯčiṯ dim nōiṯ rāšayente
frīna aγanąm mąθranąm
yå vərəzeiti avi-miθriš.

'even though he sends a well-aimed arrow, even though he reaches the body, yet they do not wound him because of the abundance of evil words which the foe of Mithra utters.'

(Note the variant *aiśhayaēta*—optative—H 3 for *aŋhayeiti.*)

2. The Temporal Clause is introduced by *yadā, yaθa.*

The use of *yadā, yaθa* to introduce temporal clauses is found very rarely in the Avesta.

Vd. **13.** 41 (YAv. prose):
katārō zī ayå vəhrkayå ǰąθwōtarō aŋhəm ašāum ahura mazda yaθa spā vəhrkahe kərənaoiti yaθa yaṯ vəhrkō spā.

'which of these two wolves shall rather be killed, O righteous Ahura Mazda—when a dog engenders of a wolf, or when a wolf (of a) dog?'

3. The Temporal Clause is introduced by *yavata*.

The use of *yavata* to introduce a temporal clause is very rare in the Avesta.

Yt. 10. 71 (YAv. verse):

naēδa manyete jaγnvå
naēδa čim γənąm sadayeiti
yavata aēm niǰainti
mərəzuča stūnō gayehe
mərəzuča xå uštānahe.

'nor doth he think that he hath slain, nor doth he seem to slay one until he smiteth both the marrow, the pillar of life, and the marrow, the sources of the vital force.'

4. The Temporal Clause is introduced by *pasčaēta yaṯ*.

The use of *pasčaēta yaṯ* to introduce a relative clause is found but rarely in the Avesta.

Ys. 57. 17 (YAv. verse);

yō nōiṯ pasčaēta hušx^{v}afa
yaṯ mainyū dāmąn daiδītəm.

'who hath not slept after that the two spirits created the creation.'

6. The Temporal Clause is introduced by *vīspəm ā ahmāṯ yaṯ*.

The phrase *vīspəm ā ahmāṯ yaṯ* is employed occasionally in the younger Avesta texts to introduce temporal clauses.

Yt. 8. 38 (YAv. verse):

ā dim paskāṯ anumarəzatəm
ašišča aŋuhi bərəzaiti
pārəndiča raoraθa
vīspem ā ahmāṯ yaṯ aēm
paiti-apayaṯ vazəmnō
x^{v}anvantəm avi gairīm.

'after him swept along both the lofty Ashi Vanuhi and Pārendi of the swift chariot, all the time until he reached in his course the mountain Hvanvant.'

Vd. 7. 56 (YAv. prose):

aēšō zī asti daēvanąm rapakō vīspəm ā ahmāṯ yaṯ aēša gantiš upaŋhačaiti.

'this verily is the joy of the demons as long as this stench remaineth.'

In Sanskrit, Old Persian, and Greek the indicative is frequently employed in temporal clauses to express actual time, as distinguished from the dependent moods, which denote hypothetical time.

α) Sanskrit. RV. iv. 17, 10:

yadā́ satyáṁ kṛṇuté manyúm índro víçvaṁ dṛḷhám bhayata éjad asmāt.

'when Indra manifesteth true wrath, all the stedfast (earth) quaking feareth him.'

β) Old Persian. Bh. ii. 6–7: *yātā adam bābirav āham imā dahyāva tyā hačāma hamiθ'iyā abava.*

'when I was at Babylon, these lands they became rebellious from me.'

Bh. ii. 22–23: *yaθā mādım parārasa maruš nāma vardanam mādaiy.*

'when I came to Media, there was a city named Vardana in Media.'

Bh. i. 25–26: *auramazdāmaiy upastām abara yātā ima xšaθ'am adāry:*

'Ormazd brought me help until this kingdom was held.'

Bh. i. 27–28: *ima tya manā kartam pasāva yaθā xšāyaθiya abavam.*

'this is that done by me after that I became king.'

γ) Greek. Il. i. 599–600:

ἄσβεστος δ' ἄρ' ἐνῶρτο γέλος μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν,
ὡς ἴδον Ἥφαιστον διὰ δώματα ποιπνύοντα.

Hym. Ap. Py., 178–179:

ὅς τῇγ' ἀντιάσειε, φέρεσκέ μιν αἴσιμον ἦμαρ,
πρίν γέ οἱ ἰὸν ἐφῆκε ἄναξ ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων.

Il. xi. 341–342:

αὐτὰρ ὁ πεζὸς
θῦνε διὰ προμάχων, ἧος φίλον ὤλεσε θυμόν.

b. Subjunctive in the Temporal Clause.

Temporal clauses containing the subjunctive are not very common in the Avesta. A few examples, however, may be quoted.

1. The Temporal Clause is introduced by *yaṯ*.

Frag. Tahm. 78–82 (YAv. prose):

āaṯ yō aētahmi aṣhvō yaṯ astavanti spəṯama zaraθuštra upairi hunarəm manō barāṯ vīspəm aētəm paiti zrvānəm astarəm urva kāšayāṯ. āaṯ yaṯ hē manahe paiti barāṯ āaṯ yaṯ hē manahi paiti ava baraite pasčaēta azəm yō ahurō mazdā aōi urune urvāsma daēsayēni.

'then whoso in this material world, Spitama Zarathushtra, shall esteem himself above his deserts, all that time shall his soul drag sin. Then when he shall esteem himself according to himself or esteemeth himself less than himself, afterward shall I, Ahura Mazda, show joy unto his soul.'

Nir. 70 (YAv. prose):

yaṯ zaota ahurəm mazdąm yazāiti maδimāi barəsmąn paiti barōiṯ.

'when the zaotar shall worship Ahura Mazda, he should bear (the libation) on the middle of the Baresom.'

2. The Temporal Clause is introduced by *yaθa*.

The use of *yaθa* to introduce temporal clauses containing the subjunctive is extremely rare in the Avesta.

Yt. 10. 39 (YAv. verse):

išavasčiṯ aēšąm ərəzifyō-parəna
huθaxtaṯ hača θanvanāṯ
ǰya-jatāṣhō vazəmna
ašəmnō-vīδō bavaiti
yaθa grantō upa-ṯbištō
apaiti-zantō miθnāiti
miθrō yō vouru-gaoyaoitiš.

'even their eagle-feathered arrows from the well-drawn bow, impelled by the cord and flying, miss their mark when Mithra, of wide pastures, angry, hostile, displeased shall approach.'

3. The Temporal Clause is introduced by *yavata, yavaṯ.*

The use of *yavata, yavaṯ* to introduce subjunctive temporal clause is not common.

Ys. 65. 9 (YAv. verse):

āpō gātava rāmōiδwəm
yavata zaota yazāite.

'O waters, revel in your place while the Zaotar shall worship.'

Vd. 15. 44–45 (YAv. prose):

kaθa aēte spāna x^{v}ā-zaēnəm x^{v}ā-draonəm bavąn. āaṯ mraoṯ ahurō mazdā yavaṯ aēte spāna biš hapta nmāna pairi tačahi bavąn.

'when shall these dogs be self-defending (and) self-supporting? Then spake Ahura Mazda: When these dogs shall run about twice seven houses.'

4. The Temporal Clause is introduced by *yadā.*

The use of *yadā* to introduce Avestan temporal clauses containing the subjunctive is extremely rare.

Ys. 50. 9 (GAv. verse):

yadā ašōiš mahyā vasō xšayā
aṯ hudānāuš išayąs gərəzdā hyəm.

'when I shall rule at will over my blessing, then might I, desiring it from the wise, be a recipient (of it).'

4. The Temporal Clause is introduced by *vīspəm ā ahmāṯ yaṯ.*

The use of the phrase *vīspəm ā ahmāṯ yaṯ* to introduce temporal clauses containing the subjunctive occurs occasionally in the Younger Avesta.

Vd. 2. 28=36 (YAv. prose).

tē kərənava miθwaire ajyamnəm vīspəm ā ahmāṯ yaṯ aēte narō varəfšva anhən.

'make these pairs invincible so long as these men shall be in the Vars.'

Vd. 4. 45 (YAv. prose):

maiδyāi asnąmča xšafnąmča avanhabdaēta paiti asne paiti xšafne vīspəm ā ahmāṯ yaṯ tā sravā drənjayąn yā paourva aēθrapatayō drənjayąn.

The too frequent *errata* in this half-volume (to be published at the end of the whole volume) will be found chiefly in the group of Semitic papers, the greater number being in the articles on *The Modern Chaldeans and Nestorians* and *The Arabic Dialect of Baghdâd.* It is due to the Semitic editor of the *Journal* to say that these articles, owing to his absence in Palestine, were published without his supervision. In addition to this cause of error, all the papers referred to, being intended as a Greeting in honor of the seventieth birthday of the President of this Society, were necessarily printed with the haste required to bring them out in due season. This fact, together with the lack of requisite editorial revision and even, in several cases (as in that of the writer of these articles mentioned above), of all revision on the part of the author, may explain, if it cannot excuse, the unusual number of typographical errors.

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'in the middle both of days and nights he should sleep by day and by night until they shall recite those words which the first Herbads shall recite.'

Vd. 19. 23 (YAv. prose):
āaṯ vohu manō nidaiδiš sūrō-θwarštaṇm raočaŋhąm yaṯ hē staraṃ bayō-dātaṇąm aiwi-raočayå̊nte vīspəm ā ahmāṯ yaṯ hē nava xšafna sač̊nte.

'then shouldst thou expose Vohu Manah to the stars mightily fashioned that the stars divinely created may shine on him until his nine nights shall elapse.'

Greek has numerous examples of the subjunctive in temporal clauses, even though the sequence of moods in this language has obscured the Indo-Germanic modal usages.

Soph. Oed. Tyr. 834–835:

ἕως δ' ἂν οὖν
πρὸς τοῦ παρόντος ἐκμάθῃς, ἔχ' ἐλπίδα.

Il. xiv. 77–78:

ὔψι δ' ἐπ' εὐνάων ὁρμίσσομεν, εἰς ὅ κεν ἔλθῃ
νὺξ ἀβρότη.

c. Optative in the Temporal Clause.

Temporal clauses containing the optative are by no means common in the Avesta. A few examples, however, may be cited.

1. The Temporal Clause is introduced by *yaṯ*.

The use of *yaṯ* to introduce optative temporal clauses is extremely rare.

Vij. p. 136 (YAv. prose)[1]
āaṯ yaṯ daraonō vanəntō stārō mazdaδātō frāyazyāṯ čaθwārō daraonō frakərətənti aiwi-arənti.

'then when one should sacrifice to the Mazda-created star Vanant a cake, they cut up and eat four cakes.'

[1] The citations from the Vijirkart-i Dēnīg are made from Bartholomae's edition of the Avesta portions of the book in *IF.* xii. 92–101.

2. The Temporal Clause is introduced by *yavata.*

The use of *yavata* to introduce temporal clauses containing the optative is exceedingly rare.

Ys. 9. 5 (YAv. verse) (iterative optative):

pančadasa fračarōiθe
pita puθrasča raoδaēšva katarasčiṯ
yavata xšayōiṯ hvąθwō
yimō vīvaŋuhatō puθrō.

'father and son went forth fifteen years old each in figure while Yima rich in herds, Vīvanghvant's son, should reign.'

3. The Temporal Clause is introduced by *vīspəm ā ahmāṯ yaδōiṯ.*

The use of *vīspəm ā ahmāṯ yaδōiṯ* to introduce optative temporal clauses is extremely rare.

Vd. 6. 27 (YAv. prose):

fraša frayōiṯ iristəm uzbarōiṯ āpō zaraθuštra ā zangaēibyasčiṯ āpō ā žnubyasčiṯ āpō ā maiδyąnasčiṯ āpō ā nərəbərəzasčiṯ āpō vīspəm ā ahmāṯ yaδōiṯ upa-ǰasōiṯ iristąm tanūm.

'he should go forward, bring the corpse out from the water, Zaráthushtra, from water to the ankles, from water to the knees, from water to the waist, from water to the height of a man, even till he should reach the dead body.'

Temporal clauses containing the optative are found in Greek also, as Plato, Rep. 501B: *καὶ τὸ μὲν ἂν ἐξαλείφοιεν, τὸ δὲ πάλιν ἐγγράφοιεν, ἕως ὅτι μάλιστα ἀνθρώπεια ἤθη θεοφιλῆ ποιήσειαν.*

d. Injunctive in the Temporal Clause.

The injunctive occurs with extreme rarity in Avestan temporal clauses. This usage was not found in the late pre-Indo-Germanic period, but seems to have developed in Avestan, which shows a marked fondness for the injunctive, employing it in conditional sentences as well (Delbrück, *Vgl. Synt.*, ii. 352–357, 363–364, 373, Gray, *Annals N. Y. Acad. of Sci.*, xii. 560, 562–563, 573–574). The introductory conjunction in Avestan injunctive temporal clauses is always *yaṯ* (GAv. *hyaṯ*).

Ys. 46. 11 (GAv. verse):

xšaθrāiš yūjən karapanō kāvayasčā
akāiš šyāoθanāiš ahūm mərəngəidyāi mašīm
yəng xᵛə urvā xᵛaēčā xraodaṯ daēnā
hyaṯ aibī-gəmən yaθrā činvatō pərətuš
yavōi vīspāi drūjō dəmānāi astayō.

'the Karaps and Kavis did unite themselves with power to destroy the life of man with evil deeds, whom their own soul and their own religion is to make howl when they are to come where the Cinvat-bridge is, members for all eternity of the household of the Lie.'

Ys. 48. 1 (GAv. verse):

yezī adāiš aŝā druǰm vənvhaitī
hyaṯ ąsašutā yā daibitānā fraoxtā
amərətāitī daēvāiščā mašyāiščā
aṯ tōi savāiš vahməm vaxšaṯ ahurā.

'if in time to come Righteousness conquers the Lie, when the falsehoods which were spoken in eternity both by demons and men are to be reached, then prayer to thee is to increase because of thy boons, O Lord.'

B. Causal Clauses.

Causal clauses in the Avesta are introduced by *yaṯ* (GAv. *hyaṯ*), and may contain any mood except the imperative. The modal values are the same in causal clauses as elsewhere. For previous literature see Jolly, 95, Spiegel, *Altbakt. Gramm.*, 336, *Vgl. Gramm.*, 535, Caland, 41, Autenrieth, Entwicklung der Relativsätze im Indogermanischen, *Nürnberger Programm*, 1893, 29.

a. Indicative in the Causal Clause.

The indicative is by far the most frequent mood in Avestan causal clauses, since the genius of the language prefers to state the cause as real rather than supposed or contingent.

Ys. 29. 2 (GAv. verse):

adā tašā gēuš pərəsaṯ ašəm: kaθā tōi gavōi ratuš
hyaṯ hīm dātā xšayantō hadā vāstrā gaodāyō θwaxšō
kəm hōi uštā ahurəm yə dregvōdəbīš aēšəməm vādāyōiṯ.

'then the creator of the ox asked Asha: How is thy lord for the kine, since ye, rulers, did give her diligence kine-furthering

together with pasturage ; whom wished ye as a lord for her who should strike down wrath from the wicked ?"[1]

Ys. 32. 5 (GAv. verse):
tā dəbənaotā mašīm huǰyātōiš amərətātascā
hyaṯ vā akā manaŋhā yōng daēvōng akascā mainyuš
akā šyaoθanəm vačaŋhā yā fračinas drəgvantəm xšayō.

'thereby ye beguiled man of good life and of immortality, since you, ye demons, the Bad Mind taught with evil mind, with evil word and deed to rule the wicked.'

Ys. 46. 6 (GAv. verse):
hvō zī drəgvå yō drəgvāitē vahištō
hvō ašavā yahmāi ašavā fryō
hyaṯ daēnā paouruyå dā ahurā,

'he verily is wicked who is most good to the wicked, he is righteous to whom the righteous is a friend, since, Lord, thou didst establish the two primal faiths.'

Yt. 12. 9 (YAv. prose):
yaṯčit ahi rašnvō ašāum upa karšvarə yaṯ arəzahi zbayamahi.

'since, O righteous Rashnu, thou art above the Karshvar Arezahi, we invoke thee.'

Yt. 19. 36 (YAv. verse and prose):
aom x^{v}arənō hangəurvayata
vīsō puθrō āθwyānōiš
vīsō sūrayå θraētaonō
yaṯ āš mašyānąm vərəθravanąm vərəθravastəmō anyō zaraθuštrāṯ.

'that glory Thraētaona the son of the house of Āthwya, of the noble house, seized, since he was of victorious men the most victorious save Zarathushtra.'

As examples of causal clauses containing the indicative in Old Persian and Greek I may quote :

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[1] My rendering of the last line, *Ann. N. Y. Acad. Sci.*, xii. 559, errs in the force assigned to *yā*, which introduces a final clause (see below pp. 165–166), and in the translation of the instrumental *drəgvōdəbīš*. This is instrumental for ablative, as in Ys. 48. 11, 53. 8, 12. 4. Cf. Jackson, *Av. Gramm.*, § 946, who refers to Whitney, *Skt. Gramm.*, § 283a.

Bh. iv. 62–63 : *avahyarādiy auramazdā upastām abara utā aniyā bagāha tyaiy hątiy yaθā naiy arika āham.*

'therefore Auramazda brought aid, and the other gods that are, since I was not hostile.'

Il. i. 56 :

κήδετο γὰρ Δαναῶν, ὅτι ῥα θνήσκοντας ὁρᾶτο.

b. Optative in the Causal Clause.

The optative, like the injunctive, occurs with extreme rarity in the Avestan causal clause.

Ys. 43. 10 (GAv. verse) :

pərəsāčā nā yā tōi šhmā parštā
parštəm zī θwā yaθanā taṯ əmavatąm
hyaṯ θwā xšayąs aēšəm dyāṯ əmavantəm.

'and question thou us thy questions of us, for a questioning by thee is as that of the mighty, since one ruling at will might make thee mighty.'

As an example of a Greek clause containing an optative of (assigned) cause Thuc. ii. 21 may be cited: *τὸν Περικλέα ἐκάκιζον, ὅτι στρατηγὸς ὢν οὐκ ἐπεξάγοι.*

c. Injunctive in the Causal Clause.

The use of the injunctive in Avestan causal clauses is extremely rare.

Ys. 43. 14 (GAv. verse) :

hyaṯ nā fryāi vaēdamnō isvā daidīṯ
maibyō mazdā tavā rafənō frāxšnənəm
hyaṯ θwā xšaθrā ašāṯ hačā frąštā
uzərəidyāi azəm sarədanā sənghahyā
maṯ tāiš vīspāiš yōi tōi mąθrā marəntī.

'since a man as he knoweth and can is to give to a friend, to me, O Mazda, (give) thy perfect joy, since thy Kingdom and I are to come in accord with Righteousness to rouse the chieftains of the assembly together with all those who remember thy words.'

Vij. p. 25 (YAv. prose) :

avaṯ yaṯ hē narō irista apuθrāi aəhaṯ upa hē puθrəm fradaδāṯ spitama zaraθuštra yahmaṯ hača puθrō haom urvānəm činvaṯ pərətūm vīδāryaṯ.

'so when the man should die sonless, one shall assign to him a son, O Spitama Zarathushtra, for that a son is to lead his soul across the Cinvat bridge.'

C. Characteristic Clauses.

The relation of characteristic and final clauses is very close in Avestan, and the similarity of the characteristic to the conditional sentence is such that confusion may easily rise. It is sometimes possible to regard the same clause as belonging to any one of these three categories.

The Avestan characteristic clause may contain the subjunctive, optative or injunctive, and it is introduced by *yaṯ* (GAv. *hyaṯ*), *ya-*, or, very rarely, by *yaθa yaṯ*. For previous literature see Jolly, 92, Caland, 41, Autenrieth, 29–30.

a. Subjunctive in the Characteristic Clause.

1. The Characteristic Clause is introduced by *ya-*.

The characteristic clause is regularly introduced in Avestan by the relative *ya-*.

Ys. 29. 7 (GAv. verse):
kastē vohū manaŋhā yō ī dāyāṯ ẓəāvā marətaēibyō.

'who through the Good Mind is one who shall bring these things down to men?' (i. e., such a one as to bring.)

Ys. 31. 1 (GAv. verse):
tā vō urvātā marəntō aguštā vačā sīnghāmahī
aēibyō yōi urvātāiš drūjō ašahyā gaēθå vīmərənčaitē
aṯcīṯ aŋibyō vahištā yōi zarazdå aŋhən mazdāi.

'remembering these your doctrines we preach words unheard (before) of those who by the doctrines of the Lie destroy the creatures of Righteousness, but most excellent to those who shall be faithful unto Mazda.'

Ys. 49. 8 (GAv. verse):
fərašaoštrāi urvāzištąm ašahyā dā
sarəm taṯ θwā mazdā yāsā ahurā
maibyāčā yąm vaŋhāu θwahmī ā xšaθrōi
yavōi vispāi fračštåŋhō åŋhāmā.

'unto Ferashaoshtra give the most friendly lordship (cf. Jackson, A Hymn of Zoroaster, 55, Bartholomae, *Grundr. der iran.*

Philol., i. 222) of Righteousness—that I beg of thee, Mazda Ahura—and such (lordship) for me in thy good kingdom (so that) we shall be the mightiest for all eternity.'

Ys. 35. 6 (GAv. prose):
fračā vātōyōtū īṯ aēibyō yōi īṯ aθā vərəzyąn yaθā īṯ astī.

'and let one teach it to such as shall do it even as it is.'

Ys. 39. 1 (GAv. prose):
ahmākəng āaṯ urunō pasukanąmčā yōi nā ǰīǰišəntī yaēibyasčā tōi ā yaēčā aēibyō ā aṽhən.

'then our souls and the souls of the cattle who nourish us, and (of such as those) for whom they shall be, and (of such as those) who shall be for them.'

Yt. 10. 119 (YAv. verse):

yazayanta θwąm mazdayasna
pasubya staoraēibya
vayaēibya patarətaēibya
yōi parənīnō fravazånte.

'the Mazdayasnians worshipped thee with beasts great and small, with winged birds, such as shall fly on pinions.'

Vd. 9. 27 (YAv. prose):
aθa imą vačō drənǰayōiš yōi aṽhən varəθraγnyōtəməmča baēšazyōtəməmča.

'then shouldst thou recite those words which shall be both most victorious and most healing.'

2. The Characteristic Clause is introduced by *yaδōiṯ*.

The use of *yaδōiṯ* to introduce Avestan characteristic clauses is extremely rare.

Vd. 6. 45 (YAv. prose):
barəzištaēšvačā paiti gātušva spitama zaraθuštra yaδōiṯ dim bāiδištəm avazanąn sūnō vā kərəfš-x^{v}arō vayō vā kərəfš-x^{v}arō.

'even upon the highest places, O Spitama Zarathushtra (bear ye the corpse—see 6. 44), where most surely either carnivorous dogs or carnivorous birds shall perceive it.'

b. Optative in the Characteristic Clause.

The use of the optative in the Avestan characteristic clause is quite rare.

1. The Characteristic Clause is introduced by *ya-*.

Avestan characteristic clauses are regularly introduced by the relative *ya-*.

Ys. 44. 10 (GAv. verse):

taṯ θwā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaočā ahurā
tąm daēnąm yā hātąm vahištā
yā mōi gaēθå ašā frādōiṯ haēmnā
ārmatōiš uxδāiš šyaoθanā ərəš daidyaṯ
maiyå čistōiš θwā īštīš usən mazdā.

'this I ask thee, tell me truly, Lord, this religion which is the best of those that are, such that it should advance my creatures, being in accord with righteousness, that it should put works aright through the words of Ārmaiti, (being) thy reward voluntarily for my knowledge, O Mazda.'

Ys. 46. 18 (GAv. verse):

yə maibyā yaoš ahmāi asčiṯ vahištā
maiyå ištōiš vohū čōišəm manaŋhā
ąstəng ahmāi yə nå ąstāi daidītā.

'whoso to me is pure, to him are the best things to be; of my wealth am I to give through the Good Mind, (but) distresses to him who should give us to distress.'

Ys. 50. 5 (GAv. verse):

ārōi zī xšmā mazdā ašā ahurā
hyaṯ yūšmākāi mąθrānē vaorāzaθā
aibī-dərəštā āvīšyā avaŋhā
zastāištā yā nå x^{v}āθrē dāyāṯ.

'fulfilled verily, O Mazda Ahura and Righteousness, with visible evident help are your desires which should place us in glory since there is friendship for your prophet.'

The Latin is especially rich in clauses of characteristic containing the dependent mood, e. g., Cicero, de Fin. iv. 1, 1: *multa dicunt quae vix intelligant.*

c. Injunctive in the Characteristic Clause.

The injunctive, introduced by *ya-*, *yaθa*, or *yaθa yaṯ* is extremely rare in Avestan characteristic clauses.

Ys. 49. 7 (GAv. verse):

kə airyamā kə x^{v}aētuš dātāiš aŋhaṯ
yə vərəzənāi vaŋuhīm dāṯ frasastīm.

'who shall be the confederate, who the kinsman by the laws, such that he is to give good glorification to the serf?'

Ys. **19.** 10 (YAv. prose):
asti zī ana avavaṯ uxδata yaθa yaṯ diṯ vīspō aŋhuš astvå āsaxšaṯ.

'such is it in speech that all the material world is to learn it.'

Characteristic clauses of this type appear to be found, although with extreme rarity, in Vedic Sanskrit. A possible example is

RV. i. 46, 6:
yå naḥ pīparad açvinā jyótiṣmatī támas tiráḥ
tām asmé rāsāthām íṣam.

'bestow on us, ye Açvins, that boon, which, full of light, is to carry us across the darkness.'

D. Final Clauses.

Avestan final clauses do not differ in form from characteristic clauses. It is possible, therefore, in many instances to regard a clause as either final or characteristic. The mood in this class of subordinate clause may be subjunctive, optative, or injunctive, and the introductory word may be *yaṯ* (GAv. *hyaṯ*), *yaθå*, or *ya-*. For previous literature see Jolly, 78, 84–85, 91–92, 94–97, Spiegel, *Altbakt. Gramm.*, 336, *Vgl. Gramm.*, 534–535, Caland, 41, Autenrieth, 31, Delbrück, *Vgl. Synt.*, iii. 330, 425, 431.

a. Subjunctive in the Final Clause.

The subjunctive mood is the one which is regularly employed in Avestan final clauses.

1. The Final Clause is introduced by *ya-*.

The use of *ya-* to introduce final clauses is very frequent in the Avesta.

Ys. **28.** 1 (GAv. verse):
ahyā yāsā nəmaŋhā ustānazastō rafəδrahyā
manyəuš mazdā pourvīm spəntahyā ašā vīspəng šynoθanā
vaŋhōuš xratūm manaŋhō yā xšnəvīšā zəušcā urvānəm.

'with hands uplifted in homage I ask, O Mazda, for the first of that joy of the Holy Spirit, (even) deeds unto all through Righteousness, the wisdom of the Good Mind, and that I may rejoice the soul of the kine.'

Ys. 33. 8 (GAv. verse) :

frō mōi fravōizdūm arəθā tā yā vohū šyavāi manaŋhā.

'speak forth to me these excellent things that through the Good Mind I may approach.'

Ys. 50. 4 (GAv. verse) :

aṯ vā yazāi stavas mazdā ahurā
hadā ušā vahištāčā manaŋhā
xšaθrāčā yā īšō stāŋhaṯ ā paiθī
ākā arədrəŋg dəmānē garō səraošānē.

'and lauding you I shall worship, O Mazda Ahura, together with Righteousness and the Best Mind and the Kingdom, in order that on the Path of Revealed Desire one may stand (and) that I may hear the generous givers in the Abode of Song.'

Ys. 16. 10 (YAv. prose and verse) :

yazamaide θwąm maēθanahe paiti ašāum ahura mazda drvaf-šaoš drvō-vīrahe drva-ašačiθrahe.

yahmi zī kāčiṯ tanunąm
drājištəm hāme maēθaine
miθnāṯ aṯ hama aṯ zayene.

' we praise thee, O righteous Ahura Mazda, lord of the abode with sound cattle, sound men, sound seed of righteousness, wherein (= in order that in it) may dwell each body in the self-same abode for time full long both winter and summer.'

Yt. 5. 90 (YAv. verse and prose) :

kana θwąm yasna yazāne. . . .

yasə tava mazdå kərənaoṯ tačarə antarə arəθəm upairi x^{v}arex-šačtem.

yasə θwā nōiṯ aiwi-družånte.

'with what praise shall I worship thee? (With that which was the one by) which Mazda made thee run in the region above the sun that they may not deceive thee.' [*yasə* for *yaṯ*?]

Vd. 19. 5 (YAv. prose) :

dužda aŋra mainyō ǰanāni dąma daēvō-dātəm ǰanāni nasuš daēvō-dātəm ǰanāni pairikąm yąm xnąθaiti yahmāi us-zayāite saošyąs vərəθraǰa haca apaṯ kąsaoyāṯ.

'malignant Angra Mainyu, I shall slay the creation demon-created, I shall slay the Corpse demon-created, I shall slay the

Pairika Khnanthaiti that the victorious Saoshyant may be born from the Kansava water.'

2. The Final Clause is introduced by *yaṯ*.

The conjunction *yaṯ* is used very rarely, and only in Younger Avesta, to introduce final clauses.

Yt. 5. 58 (YAv. verse) :

āaṯ hīm jaiδyən
avaṯ āyaptəm dazdi nō
vanuhi səvište arədvī sūre anāhite
yaṯ bavāma aiwi-vanyā
taxməm tusəm raθaēštārəm
yaθa vaēm niǰanāma
airyanąm daiyunąm.

'then they implored her: Give us that boon, O good, most mighty Aredvi Sūra Anāhita, that we may become victorious over the sturdy warrior Tusa, that we may conquer the Aryan lands.'

Yt. 15. 40 (YAv. verse):

āaṯ hīm jaiδyən
avaṯ āyaptəm dazdi nō
vayuš yō uparō-kairyō
yaṯ nmānō-paitīm vindāma
yvānō sraēštō-kəhrpa
yō nō hubərətąm barāṯ
yavata gaya jvāva
frazaintīmča hō vərəzyāṯ
danrō dantō hizuxδō.

'then they implored him: Give us that boon, O Wind working on high, that we may find a house-holder, young, most beautiful of form, to entreat us well as long as we both shall live, and he shall beget wise, intelligent, eloquent offspring.'

It is to be noted that *yaṯ* in both these sentences may be referred to *āyaptəm*, and they may, therefore, be classed among clauses introduced by *ya-*. On the other hand, the parallelism of *yaṯ* with *yaθa* in Yt. 5. 50 and 58 seems to imply that *yaṯ* is here to be regarded as a conjunction.

3. The Final Clause is introduced by *yaθā.*

The use of *yaθā* to introduce Avestan final clauses containing the subjunctive is not uncommon.

Ys. 34. 6 (GAv. verse):

aṯ taṯ mōi daxštəm dātā ahyā anhəuš vīspā maēθā
yaθā vā yazəmnascā urvāidyā stavas ayenī paitī.

'then give me that sign, all the abodes of this life, and that worshipping, lauding more joyfully (?) I may come to you.'

Ys. 60. 5–6 (YAv. verse):

vainīṯ ahmi nmāne sraošō
asruštīm āxštiš anāxštīm . . .
yaθa ahmya amərəšā spənta
sraošāδa ašyāδa paitiṣąn.

'in this house Obedience should conquer Disobedience, Peace Discord . . . that in this house through holy Obedience the Amshaspands may dwell.'

Yt. 5. 50 (YAv. verse):

āaṯ hīm ǰaiδyaṯ
avaṯ āyaptəm dazdi mē
vanuhi səvište arədvī sūre anāhite
yaθa azəm upəməm xšaθrəm
bavāni vīspaṇąm daḫyuṇąm . . .
yaṯ vīspaṇąm yuxtaṇąm
azəm fratəməm θanǰayeni.

'then he implored her: Give me that boon, O good, most mighty Aredvi Sūra Anāhita, that I may attain to the supreme kingdom of all lands, . . . that I may drive the foremost of all steeds.'

Examples of final clauses containing the subjunctive are very frequent in Vedic Sanskrit and Greek.

RV. ii. 30, 5:

áva kṣipa divó áçmānam uccā́ yéna çatrúṁ mandasānó nijū́rvāḥ.

'on high hurl down from the sky the stone whereby thou rejoicing mayest consume the foe.'

RV. iii. 19, 4:

sá ā́ vaha devátātiṁ yaviṣṭha çárdho yád adyá divyáṁ yájāsi.

'bring hither, thou youngest one, the gods, that today thou mayest worship the divine host.'

RV. x. 103, 13:

ugrâ vaḥ santu bāhávo 'nādhṛṣyā yáthāsatha.

'strong be your arms that ye may be invincible.'

Od. xv. 310–311:

ἀλλά μοι εὖ θ' ὑπόθεν καὶ ἄμ' ἠγεμόν' ἐσθλὸν ὄπασσον,
ὅς κέ με κεῖσ' ἀγάγῃ.

Il. ii. 381:

νῦν δ' ἔρχεσθ' ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, ἵνα ξυνάγωμεν Ἄρηα.

Il. viii. 36–37:

βουλὴν δ' Ἀργείοισ' ὑποθησόμεθ', ἥ τις ὀνήσει,
ὡς μὴ πάντες ὄλωνται ὀδυσσαμένοιο τεοῖο.

b. Optative in the Final Clause.

The optative is frequently found in Avestan final clauses.

1. The Final Clause is introduced by *ya-*.

Avestan final clauses are most commonly introduced by *ya-*.

Ys. 31. 3 (GAv. verse):

yąm dā mainyū āθrāčā ašāča čōiš rānōibyā xšnūtəm
hyaṯ urvatəm čazdōnwhvadəbyō taṯ nə mazdā vīdvanōi vaočā
hizvā θwahyā ārəhō yā ǰvantō vīspəng vāurayā.

'what joy thou art to give through thy Spirit and the Fire and by the two opposing hosts art to teach, (namely) the creed for the pure in heart, that tell us to know it by the tongue of thy mouth, O Mazda, that I might convert all men living.'

Ys. 43. 12 (GAv. verse):

hyaṯčā moī mraoš ašəm ǰasō frāxšnənē
aṯ tū mōi nōiṯ asrušta pairyaoγžā
uzərədyāi parā hyaṯ mōi ā ǰimaṯ
səraošō ašī mązā-rayā hačimnō
yā vī ašīš rānōibyō savōi vīdāyāṯ.

'and then when thou saidst: Come to Righteousness speedily, then spakest to me not to go forth in deafness before that Obedience was to come to me attended with a mighty, glorious boon that he might give boons to help the opposing hosts.'

Ys. 53. 9 (GAv. verse):

kū ašavā ahurō yō īš ǰyātəuš həmiθyāṯ vasə-itōišcā.

'where is the righteous lord who should restrain them from conquest and license?'

Ys. 40. 2 (GAv. prose):
ahyā hvō nə̄ dāidī ahmāičā ahuyē manaŋhyāičā taṯ ahyā yā taṯ upā-ǰamyāmā tavačā haxəmā ašaŋhyāčā vīspāi yavē.

'thereof give us both for this life and the spiritual one that part of it whereby we might come unto the companionship both of thee and of Righteousness forever.'

2. The Final Clause is introduced by *yaṯ* (GAv. *hyaṯ*).

The use of *yaṯ* (GAv. *hyaṯ*) to introduce optative final clauses is not common.

Ys. 43. 8 (GAv. verse):
haiθyō dvaēšå hyaṯ isōyā drəgvāitē
aṯ ašāunē rafənō hyə̄m aoǰōnghvaṯ
hyaṯ ābūstīš vasasə xšaθrahyā dyā.

'a true hater should I be, so far as I can, to the wicked, but a mighty joy to the righteous, that I might establish honor (?) of thy kingdom at will.'

Ys. 44. 17 (GAv. verse):
kaθā mazdā zarəm čarānī hačā xšmaṯ
āskətīm xšmākąm hyaṯčā mōi hyāṯ vāxš aēšō.

'how, Mazda, shall I come to old age according unto you, even to your ordainment (? cf. *āskərəitīm*, the reading of L2, and the Pahlavi rendering by *karṯārīh*), and (come) that my voice might be entreating.' [Doubtful. Perhaps, 'and what my voice may be desiring.']

3. The Final Clause is introduced by *yaθa*.

The use of *yaθa* to introduce final clauses containing the optative is extremely rare.

Vd. 8. 75 (YAv. prose):
vīča barōiṯ vīča šāvayōiṯ yaθa āsištəm frāvayōiṯ.

'away he should bear it and away he shall carry it that it might be extinguished most quickly.'

Final clauses containing the optative are found also in Vedic Sanskrit and Greek. The following examples may serve as illustrations.

RV. v. 54. 15:

idáṁ sú me maruto haryatā váco yásya tárema tárasā çatáṁ hímāḥ.

'O Maruts, receive ye kindly this word of mine, by whose might we should live a hundred winters.'

RV. v. 64, 3:

yán nūnám açyāṁ gátiṁ mitrásya yāyāṁ pathā́.

'that now I might obtain a way, I would go by Mitra's path.' (Sāyaṇa, however, renders the line as temporal.)

RV. x. 131, 1:

ápa prā́ca indra víçvāṁ amítrān ápā́pāco abhibhūte nudasva ápódīco ápa çūrādharā́ca uraú yáthā táva çárman mádema.

'away, O conqueror Indra, drive all foes, east, west, north, south, O hero, that in thy broad refuge we might rejoice.' (Sāyaṇa renders: 'foes before, behind, above, below.')

Od. xv. 458:

καὶ τότ' ἄρ' ἄγγελον ἦκαν, ὃς ἀγγείλειε γυναικί.

Soph. Antig. 19:

τοῦδ' εἵνεκ' ἐξέπεμπον, ὡς μόνη κλύοις.

c. Injunctive in the Final Clause.

The injunctive in Avestan deviates far from its Indogermanic function as a prohibitive mood with the negative **mḗ* (cf. *Ann. N. Y. Acad. Sci.*, xii. 562-563, 573–574, *JAOS.* xxi. 117–118).

Even in final clauses, as well as in temporal, causal, and characteristic clauses, we occasionally find the injunctive employed.

1. The Final Clause is introduced by *ya-*.

Final clauses containing the injunctive are sometimes introduced by *ya-*.

Ys. 28. 2 (GAv. verse):

yō vā mazdā ahurā pairī-jasāi vohū manaŋhā
maibyō dāvōi ahvā astvatascā hyaṯcā manaŋhō
āyaptā ašāṯ hačā yāiš rapantō daidīṯ x^{v}aθrē.

'I who shall approach you, Mazda Ahura, through the Good Mind to give me in accordance with Righteousness the boons of the two lives, both material and that of the Spirit, which (boons) are to place the joyous in glory.'

2. The Final Clause is introduced by *hyaṯ*.

The use of *hyaṯ* to introduce an injunctive final clause is extremely rare. A possible instance which may, however, be a causal clause (cf. above p. 157) is

Ys. 30. 9 (GAv. verse):

aṯčā tōi vaēm hyāmā yōi īm fərašəm kərənāun ahūm
mazdåscā ahurå∂hō ā mōyastrā baranā ašāčā
hyaṯ haθrā manå bavaṯ yaθrā čistiš a∂haṯ maēθā.

'and then we should be those who are to make the world prepared, and do ye, Ahura Mazda (pl.) and Asha bear aid, that there the mind may be where wisdom shall be abiding.'

3. The Final Clause is introduced by *yaθa*.

Injunctive final clauses are very rarely introduced by *yaθa*.

Yt. 13. 1 (YAv. verse):

framrava ərəzvō spitama
yaṯ ašaonąm fravašinąm
uγranąm aiwiθūranąm
yaθa mē ǰasən ava∂he
yaθa mē barən upastąm.

'proclaim, O righteous Spitama, that [might, etc.] of the awful, mighty Fravashis of the righteous, that they may come to help me, that they may bear me aid.'

Examples of final clauses containing the injunctive are extremely rare in Vedic Sanskrit. Such passages may, however, be quoted, e. g., RV. x. 4, 1:

prá te yakṣi prá ta iyarmi mánma bhúvo yáthā vándyo no havéṣu.

'I sacrifice to thee, I send a hymn to thee that thou mayest be praiseworthy for us in the libations.'

E. Indirect Discourse.

The existence of indirect discourse in Avesta has been denied by Jolly, 96, 109–110, and Delbrück, *Vgl. Synt.*, iii. 324–326, although Spiegel, *Vgl. Gramm.*, 524, thinks that oratio obliqua is found in this language. If we interpret indirect discourse in its broad sense as a term which "includes all clauses which express indirectly the words or thoughts of any person (includ-

ing those of the speaker himself), after verbs which imply thought or the expression of thought" (Goodwin, *Greek Moods and Tenses*, ed. 1897, § 666), it seems to me that we may justly speak of Avestan oratio obliqua. In such clauses the indicative, subjunctive, optative, and injunctive moods are found with *yaθā* and *yaṯ* (GAv. *hyaṯ*) as introductory words. The view of Delbrück, *Vgl. Synt.*, iii. 324–328, 332, that *yaṯ* in this type of sentence has a temporal force, does not seem altogether satisfactory. I am inclined to regard *yaṯ* as referring to the entire subordinate clause. The relative would then have a compound force. Such a passage as RV. i. 103, 7 :

tád índra préva vīryàṁ cakartha yat sasántaṁ vájreṇâbodhayó 'hiṁ,

I would render, 'that heroic deed, Indra, thou hast accomplished, which (is) : "Thou didst awaken with thy bolt the sleeping serpent."' (Otherwise Delbrück, *SF.* v. 576, cf. *Vgl. Synt.*, iii. 324.) Homer shows the same archaic structure, e. g., Il. i. 120 :

λεύσσετε γὰρ τό γε πάντες ὅ μοι γέρας ἔρχεται ἄλλη,

'for this ye all behold, which (is) : "My prize goeth elsewhere."'

Similar also is Od. xvi. 131 :

εἶφ' ὅτι οἱ σόος εἰμὶ καὶ ἐκ Πύλου εἰλήλουθα,

'say thou (that) which (is) : "I am safe and am come from Pylos."'

Still more primitive perhaps (even though its first occurrence in Greek is Herod. iii. 115) is the use of ὅτι (very rarely ὡς) to introduce direct quotations, as Xen., Anab., i. 6, 8 : ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐδ' εἰ γενοίμην, ὦ Κῦρε, σοί γ' ἄν ποτε ἔτι δόξαιμι.

The explanation of the Avestan *yaṯ* when used to introduce quotations seems to me to be very much the same, and it harmonizes with the use of the relative in sentences of the type *azəm yō ahurō mazdå* (see above p. 146, n. 1). In this way too we reach a concord with the Germanic construction, for as Deecke, *Griech. und lat. Nebensätze* (Buchsweiler Prog., 1887), 19 and Paul, *Prinz.*[2], 276, have shown, such a sentence as *kunnuþ þatei nehva ist asans*, γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐγγὺς τὸ θέρος ἐστίν, Mk. xiii. 28 is really, 'ye know that : "The summer is nigh,"' whence is developed the ordinary clause of indirect discourse, 'ye know, that the summer is nigh.'

The Avesta has no shifting of moods or persons such as we find in Greek and Latin (Jolly, 124–125, Hermann, Diss., 17–18, Delbrück, *SF.* i. 79–82, *Vgl. Synt.*, iii. 437–438), unless there is a sequence of persons in Yt. 16, 6–7, which is somewhat doubtful, and which I regard as a clause of actual result.[1]

a. Indicative in the Indirect Discourse.

The indicative, like the other moods, retains its own value unchanged in indirect discourse in Avestan. Its use is not uncommon.

1. The Indirect Discourse is introduced by *ya-*.

The use of *ya-* to introduce indirect discourse is extremely rare.

Ys. 46. 2 (GAv. verse):

vaēdā taṯ yā ahmī mazdā anaēšō
mā kamnafšvā hyaṯčā kamnānā ahmī.

'this I know, Mazda, that I am without my hopes, my scanty flocks (I know) and that I have few followers.'

2. The Indirect Discourse is introduced by *yaṯ*.

Avestan indirect discourse is most generally introduced by *yaṯ*.

Ys. 9. 4 (YAv. verse):

hā ahmāi ašiš ərənāvi
taṯ ahmāi ǰasaṯ āyaptəm
yaṯ hē puθrō us-zayata.

'this blessing was granted him, this boon came unto him that a son was born to him.'

Yt. 5. 77 (YAv. verse and prose):

tā bā aša tā aršuxδa
arədvī sūre anāhite
yaṯ mē avavaṯ daēvayasnanąm niǰatəm
yaθa sūrəm varsanąm barāmi.

'this verily is true, this is truly spoken, O Aredvi Sūra Anāhita, that as many demon-worshippers have been killed by me, as I bear hairs upon my head."

[1] The passage Yt. 16. 6–7 (YAv. prose): *yąm yazata zaraθuštrō . . . avaheča paiti yąnahe yaṯ hē daθaṯ razišta čista mazdāδata ašaoni pāδave*

b. Subjunctive in the Indirect Discourse.

Subjunctive clauses of indirect discourse are extremely rare in the Avesta.

1. The Indirect Discourse is introduced by *yaṯ*.

The use of *yaṯ* to introduce subjunctive clauses of indirect discourse is found very seldom.

Vd. 18. 49 (YAv. prose):
aom aiśhe asti uzvarəzəm yaṯ nū pasča yaṯ x^{v}afnāδa frabūiδyamnō θriš ašəm upa-stavāṯ.

'this is the remedy for it, that the man after awakening from sleep shall thrice intone the Ashem.'

2. The Indirect Discourse is introduced by *yaθā*.

Subjunctive clauses of indirect discourse introduced by *yaθā* are excessively rare.

Ys. 44. 18 (GAv. verse):
hyaṯ mōi mazdā apivaitī haurvātā
amərətātā yaθā hī taibyō dāṇhā.

'since, Mazda, there hath become known to me Health and Immortality, that thou shalt give these twain of thine.'

Ys. 9. 17 (YAv. verse):
nī tē zāire maδəm mruyē . . .
nī taṯ yaθa gaēθāhva
vasō-xšaθrō fračarāne
ṯbaēšō taurvā druǰəm vanō.

'I implore of thee, golden one, wisdom, . . . this, that in the world I may go forth ruling at will, subduing hatred, conquering the Lie.'

c. Injunctive in the Indirect Discourse.

The use of the injunctive in clauses of oratio obliqua is most unusual in Avestan. The clause is introduced by *yaṯ*.

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zāvarə.—'whom Zarathushtra worshipped . . . and for this boon which the most upright Cishta, created by Mazda and righteous, gave him (namely), might with his two feet' is not to be construed as indirect discourse (cf. Jolly, 109) but is rather a clause of actual attained result.

Ys. 19. 12 (YAv. prose):

yaθa frā iδa āmraoṭ yaṭ dim ahūmča ratūmča ādadaṭ iθa dim para-činasti yim ahurəm mazdąm manas-paoiryačibyō dāmabyō.

'when he is to pronounce that he is to make him both lord and master, then he teacheth Ahura Mazda unto the creatures first in reason.'

The close resemblance of the Avestan use of *yaṭ* in indirect discourse to the employment of the Greek ὅτι has already been noted. With the use of *yaθā* to introduce oratio obliqua we compare ὡς, e. g., Il. vii. 401–402 :

γνωτὸν δέ, καὶ ὅς μάλα νήπιός ἐστιν,
ὡς ἤδη Τρώεσσιν ὀλέθρου πείρατ' ἐφῆπται.

Hymn. Ven., 212–214:

εἶπεν δὲ ἕκαστα . . .
ὡς ἔοι ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήρως ἶσα θεοῖσιν.

A single instance of indirect discourse seems to be found in Old Persian in the obscure and mutilated passage Bh. iv. 44:

auramazdiya taiyaya (?) *yaθā ima hašiyam naiy duruxtam.*

'as a Mazdaean (?) I swear (?) that this is true, not false.'

F. Indirect Question.

By a broad interpretation of "indirect question" similar to that employed in discussing indirect discourse, there are several passages in the Avesta which may be brought under the category of such interrogations. In these sentences the indicative, subjunctive, or optative may be employed, introduced by *ya-*, *yaθā*, *yavaṭ*, or *yaδōiṭ*. For previous literature see Jolly, 106, 110–112, Delbrück, *Vgl. Synt.*, iii. 431–432.

a. Indicative in the Indirect Question.

The indicative is the mood most commonly employed in Avestan indirect questions.

1. The Indirect Question is introduced by *ya-*.

The use of *ya-* to introduce an indirect question is excessively rare.

Ys. 35. 7 (GAv. prose) :

taṭ aṭ vō vərəzyāmahī fračā vātōyāmahī yā tō isāmaidē.

'that do we do and teach so far as we can.'

2. The Indirect Question is introduced by *yaθā.*

The word most commonly used to introduce indirect questions is *yaθā.*

Ys. 46. 9 (GAv. verse):

kə̄ hvō yə̄ mā arədrō čōiθaṯ pouruyō
yaθā θwā zəvīštīm uzəmōhī.

'who was the generous giver who first taught me how we extoll thee the loving one?'

Ys. 51. 5 (GAv. verse):

vīspā tā pəreṣąs yaθā aŝāṯ hačā gąm vīdaṯ
vāstryō šyaoθanāiš ərəšvō hąs huxratuś nəmaɯhā.

'asking all these things, how in accord with Righteousness the husbandman did find the kine, being upright through his deeds, wise through his homage.'

3. The Indirect Question is introduced by *yaδōiṯ.*

The use of *yaδōiṯ* to introduce an indirect question is extremely rare.

Nir. 52 (YAv. prose):

nōiṯ aĕtaēšąm ratufriš ratufraitīm θwərəšāiti yaδōiṯ aĕte framarənti yaδōiṯ ratufryō.

'the Ratufri shall not forbid their celebration of the feast, so far as they recite, so far as one is approved by the Ratu.'

Examples may be quoted from Vedic Sanskrit and Greek.

RV. x. 135, 5:

kāḥ svit tád adyá no brūyād anudéyī yáthbâhavat.

'who would tell us this today, how he was to be given back.'

(This rendering of *anudeyi* (n.?) is in accordance with Sāyaṇa, whose gloss *anudātavyā* seems to me to fit the context better than the 'Rückgabe' or 'vielleicht Mitgabe' of the PWb.; cf. however RV. x. 85, 6.)

Il. i. 64:

ὃς εἶπῃ ὅ τι τόσσον ἐχώσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.

b. Subjunctive in the Indirect Question.

The subjunctive is found quite frequently in Avestan indirect questions.

1. The Indirect Question is introduced by *yaθā.*

Avestan indirect questions containing the subjunctive are sometimes introduced by *yaθā.*

Ys. 48. 9 (GAv. verse):

vīdyāṯ saošyąs yaθā hōi ašiš aŋhaṯ.

'might the Saoshyant know how his boon shall be.'

2. The Indirect Question is introduced by *yavaṯ.*

The use of *yavaṯ* to introduce indirect questions is extremely rare.

Ys. 50. 11 (GAv. verse):

aṯ vō staotā aoǰāi mazdā aŋhāčā
yavaṯ ašā tavāčā isāičā.

'and your praiser shall I be called, Mazda, and shall be, O Righteousness, as long as I can and may.'

The subjunctive is found in Greek indirect questions as

Il. iv. 14–16:

ἡμεῖς δὲ φραζώμεθ' ὅπως ἔσται τάδε ἔργα,
ἦ ῥ' αὖτις πόλεμόν τε κακὸν καὶ φύλοπιν αἰνὴν
ὄρσομεν ἢ φιλότητα μετ' ἀμφοτέροισι βάλωμεν.

c. Optative in the Indirect Question.

The use of the optative in Avestan indirect questions is excessively rare. The introductory word is *yaθā.*

Ys. 49. 6 (GAv. verse):

frō vā fraēšyā mazdā ašəmčā mrūitē
yā vō xratūuš xšmākahyā ā manaŋhā
ərəš vīčidyāi yaθā ī srāvayaēmā
ṭąm daēnąm yā xšmāvatō ahurā.

'I implore you, O Mazda and Asha, to say what things are your Spirit's through the Mind, to decide aright how we should preach these things, (namely) that faith which is of one like you, O Lord.'

Greek indirect questions containing the optative are frequent, although the Greek sequence of tenses is a disturbing factor in a comparison with the Avestan type.

Od. xvii. 368:

ἀλλήλους τ' εἴροντο τίς εἴη καὶ πόθεν ἔλθοι.

From the classification of Avestan subordinate clauses which has been given, it seems evident that this Iranian dialect coincides generally in syntax with the Old Persian, Sanskrit and Greek. Only the more striking classes of dependent sentence have been considered, but I think that enough material has been presented to confirm the view which I sought to maintain in my previous studies on the conditional sentences and the preterite tenses of the indicative in the Avesta, that the dialect adheres closely in the main to Indo-Germanic syntax.

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Notes on Recent Theories of the Origin of the Alphabet.—By the Rev. JOHN P. PETERS, D.D., of St. Michael's Church, New York.

IN 1883 I presented to the Oriental Society a paper on "The Egyptian and Old Babylonian Theories of the Origin of the Phoenician Alphabet Compared," in which I argued for the Babylonian origin, on the ground principally of the names of the letters. I return to the subject of the alphabet at this time because recent discoveries have brought into the field several new theories.

A second edition of Dr. Isaac Taylor's *The Alphabet* has appeared, in which is reiterated unchanged his former argument for the Egyptian origin, substantially as presented by De Rougé in 1859. In an epistolary controversy with Dr. Taylor at the time of the publication of the first edition of this work (1883), in *The Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, May 6th, 1884, I offered, among others, the following objections to that theory:

The resemblance of the "Egyptian alphabet" to the early Phoenician characters is not striking; it is, however, such as to render the development of either from the other possible. Such sort of similarity proves absolutely nothing. Intermediate forms are not forthcoming and without them there can be no proof from the forms of the letters.

As Dr. Taylor himself says, in reference to the derivation of the Aethiopic alphabet (vol. i, p. 353): "The identification of the letters with their prototypes can be effected with much greater certainty [by a linguistic comparison of the names] than by means of mere resemblances of form, which are frequently deceptive." Comparing the Egyptian and Phoenician alphabets, we find no similarity in the names of the letters, either as to sound or sense.

On page 145, Dr. Taylor thus sums up his chronological argument: "The Semite occupation of Egypt lasted for several centuries [sic]. The origin of the Semitic alphabet is connected with this occupation by three distinct lines of evidence. The first is external. The sojourn of Israel in Egypt is nearly syn-

chronous with the Hyksos period [sic]. Before the Hebrews went down into Egypt, the art of writing was unknown to them [sic]; when they came out of Egypt they possessed it [sic]. The inference seems clear, it must have been acquired from kindred races who occupied the Delta." This is a tissue of unproved assumptions, and the argument is utterly worthless.

The increase of knowledge within the last seventeen years enables me to add further, that while the particular form of the Egyptian script, the hieratic, from which De Rougé derived his characters, belongs to a period not later than about 1900 B. C., the Phoenician alphabet did not come into existence until after 1400 B. C. There is, therefore, a gap of 500 years between the use of the script from which De Rougé would have derived the Phoenician alphabet and the earliest period at which that alphabet could have come into existence, and of about 1000 years between the use of that script and the earliest writing in the Phoenician alphabet yet discovered.[1]

The acceptance of De Rougé's theory or some modification of it, even to the present time, is due in part to the admirable manner in which it was presented, but chiefly to the fact that at the time when De Rougé presented his theory, we were not conversant with any other forms of writing from which the Phoenician alphabet might have been derived. Discoveries made since that time, and especially in the last few years, have entirely changed our point of view in this last particular. The Tel el-Amarna tablets have shown us that at about 1400 B. C., the Babylonian script and language were used for purposes of official and diplomatic intercourse in Phoenicia and the neighboring regions. The extent of this use is emphasized by the fact that the particular correspondence discovered was with Egypt. Egyptian officials and subject monarchs throughout Palestine and Syria made use, in their correspondence with the Egyptian monarch, of the Babylonian script and the Babylonian language, and the Egyptian court used the same language and the same script in reply.

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[1] While all the arguments above presented do not hold against Halévy's theory of the origin of the Phoenician alphabet from the Egyptian hieroglyphs, a great part of them do, and in fact the main features of the argument above presented are valid against all of the Egyptian theories so far advanced.

The correspondence contained in the Tel el-Amarna tablets has shown us further, with a fair degree of conclusiveness, that the Phoenician alphabet was at that time, about 1400 B. C., unknown in Phoenicia and Syria. In the Tel el-Amarna correspondence we find occasional glosses explaining Babylonian words by some word or phrase of the local dialect.[1] At a later date we find numerous Babylonian and Assyrian tablets written in the cuneiform characters, but containing signatures of the writers or brief dockets in the simpler alphabetic script of the Aramaeans. Comparing these two uses, it seems almost incredible that, if a simpler Phoenician alphabetic script had at that time been known anywhere throughout the regions covered by the Tel el-Amarna correspondence, we should not have found some glosses or some names written in those alphabetic characters.[2] Add to this the fact that the earliest inscriptions in the Phoenician script yet found do not antedate probably the ninth, certainly the tenth century B. C., and it would seem to be established that in 1400 B. C. the Babylonian script was used in Palestine, because the Phoenician alphabet had not yet been invented.

The discovery of the Tel el-Amarna tablets and their revelations with regard to the conditions prevailing in Hither Asia in the fourteenth century, and especially the use of the Babylonian script as a medium of communication at that period, have naturally suggested the derivation of the Phoenician alphabet from the Babylonian rather than from the Egyptian. Already in 1877 Deecke had proposed the Assyrian as the origin of the Phoenician alphabet.[3] As stated above, in 1883 I proposed, on the ground, however, of the similarity of the names rather than of the forms of the signs, the derivation of the Phoenician alphabet from the Babylonian script. Hommel, also, in his *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens* (1885) proposed a Babylonian origin for the alphabet. More recently Ball, in "Light from the East or the Witness of the Monuments"[4] (1899), and Peiser in his *Studien zur orientalischen Altertumskunde* (1900), have sought to derive the Phoenician alphabet

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[1] We have also Egyptian dockets.

[2] Cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, Band 1, Heft 2, p. 110.

[3] *ZDMG.* xxxi, p. 102 ff.

[4] Cf. also his article in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, June, 1893.

from the Babylonian cuneiform,[1] while Delitzsch[2] and Zimmern[3] allow the Babylonian the main determinative influence in the formation of the alphabet. In all cases the dependence is upon the form of the letters. The names are supposed to be words with a meaning, and while the traditional interpretation of the Phoenician alphabet-names presented by Gesenius is not strictly followed, there is not, nevertheless, in any of these theories a careful investigation of those names, which are in some cases made into words only by a forced system of etymology. The signs from which the Phoenician letters are derived are also as a rule the oldest forms obtainable, forms in most cases almost linear, which go back to the third or possibly the fourth millennium B. C.; but, according to any theory, the Phoenician alphabet must have been derived from the cuneiform script toward the end of the second millennium, and it would seem necessary to consider the forms of the signs used in Babylonian inscriptions at that period rather than 1,000 or 2,000 years earlier.

But we now know that other systems of writing besides the Egyptian and Babylonian scripts were in existence among peoples in contact with Phoenicia and the neighboring regions in the latter half of the second millennium. Numerous inscriptions in the so-called Hittite script have been discovered in northern Syria, in Asia Minor and in Babylonia.[4] In Cyprus there existed a linear script closely akin to certain Asian or more generally Mediterranean systems of writing, like the Karian and the Iberian, which, it is claimed, had been developed among peoples with whom the Phoenicians were in contact at a time prior, so far as we at present know, to the development of the Phoenician script. More recently there have been discovered in Crete inscriptions in two different systems of writing, one hiero-

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[1] Haupt in *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, vol. vii. (1888), No. 64, expresses his belief in the probability "that the Phoenician alphabet is not based on the Egyptian hieroglyphics as is commonly asserted, but on the Mesopotamian wedge writing." Apparently he bases his supposition on the "striking resemblance" of "some of the cuneiform characters . . . to the oldest Phoenician forms of the Semitic alphabet."

[2] *Die Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems*, 1897.

[3] *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Alphabets*, *ZDMG.* l., p. 667.

[4] While the Hittite has sometimes been suggested as the possible origin of the Phoenician script, I am not aware that any definite theory of such an origin has been advanced.

glyphic, strikingly resembling the Egyptian in many particulars, the second and later a linear system of writing, which seems to have belonged more particularly to the Eteocretans in the eastern part of the island. The former of these two Cretan systems was in use, apparently, in the first half of the second millennium B. C., but was superseded by the second by the middle of that millennium—1500 B. C. or thereabouts.

The recent discoveries and investigations of Evans and Petrie have given rise to two more theories of the origin of the alphabet. In the *Archaeological Report of the Egypt Exploration Fund* (1899–1900) under the title "The Palace of Knossos in its Egyptian Relations," pp. 64–65, Mr. Arthur J. Evans presents in a guarded and careful way the suggestions that the Cretan linear script was the parent of the Phoenician alphabet. He supposes that in the first place the evolution of the Cretan hieroglyphic script was "aided by a knowledge of the existence of the highly developed Egyptian system." The linear Cretan script shows "a much more advanced method of writing [than the hieroglyphic] and the Egyptian parallels are here less in evidence." There are, however, in his opinion, instances of direct borrowing and "the system of numeration . . . certainly shows a close parallelism with the Egyptian." It is this linear script which, in his opinion, resembles the Phoenician alphabet or rather "the theoretic pictorial originals of the Phoenician forms." Mr. Evans has accepted Gesenius' interpretation of the names of the Phoenician letters as words of simple meaning, and assumed the letters of the Phoenician alphabet to have been derived from pictures of the objects named. Two-thirds of these supposed pictorial originals of the Phoenician alphabet he finds to "correspond with actual types of one or other of the Cretan systems." He supposes that there was a "parallel evolution on opposite shores of the same east Mediterranean basin from picture originals." Therefore, "De Rougé's theory of the origin of the Phoenician letters from hieratic forms . . . must be definitely abandoned. It is possible even to go further and see in the Semitic and Cretan characters members of the same generic script. A key to this phenomenon may eventually be supplied by the early Aegaean settlement on the coast of Canaan, as represented by the Philistines." Mr. Evans here suggests a Cretan origin, but, as will be observed, he is very guarded in his discussion of the situation.

His followers have gone much further. Mr. Louis Dyer, in the syllabus of a course of lectures delivered in this country in the preceding winter (1900–01), argues that "the Phoenician alphabet was derived from transplanted Cretan pictographs, which had received Semitic names that have survived in the names of our letters." D. S. A. Fries, in the *Zeitschrift des Palästina Vereins*,[1] supposes that the Phoenician alphabet was developed out of the Cretan script which the Philistines brought with them to Palestine. Values were there given to the characters, adapting them to Canaanite use, and names and order of arrangement adopted from the cuneiform alphabet.

As a result of the discovery in the royal tombs of the first dynasty in Egypt of markings which he finds to be similar to or identical with the Karian and other Aegaean and Mediterranean systems of writing or marking, Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie has propounded a different theory, a brief summary of which, together with a comparative table of characters, is contained in the first part of the 18th *Memoir of the Egyptian Exploration Fund*, "The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty," pp. 31 and 32, and plates 52 f. His argument is that in these markings we have signs "disconnected from the known hieroglyphs" and "probably touching on the system of geometrical signs used from prehistoric to Roman times in Egypt, and also in other countries around the Mediterranean." These signs he believes to have been in use in Egypt from 6000 down to 1200 B. C. or later, and to have constituted a definite system. He finds it impossible to separate these forms "from the similar forms found in other lands connected with Egypt from 800 B. C. down to later times," many of which also are found "in the Cretan inscriptions long before 800 B.C." His conclusion is that "a great body of signs—or a *signary*—was in use around the Mediterranean for several thousand years. Whether these were ideographic or syllabic or alphabetic in the early stages, we do not know; certainly they were alphabetic in the later stage. And the identity of most of the signs in Asia Minor and Spain shows them to belong to a system with commonly received values in the later times." His conclusion is that "the so-called Phoenician letters were familiar long before the rise of Phoenician influence. What is really due to the Phoenicians seems to

[1] xxii. (1900), 111, pp. 118–126.

have been the selection of a short series (only half the amount of the surviving alphabets) for numerical purposes . . . This usage would soon render these signs as inviolable in order as our own numbers, and force the use of them on all countries with which the Phoenicians traded. Hence, before long these signs drove out of use all others, except in the less changed civilization of Asia Minor and Spain."

In a popular book entitled *The Story of the Alphabet* (1900), Mr. Edward Clodd publishes a letter from Prof. Petrie, dated September 2d, 1899, which throws a little more light on his theory of the "signary." He says: "A great signary (not hieroglyphic, but geometric in appearance, if not in origin) was in use all over the Mediterranean 5000 B.C. It is actually found in Egypt at that period, and was split in two, Western and Eastern, by the cross flux of hieroglyphic systems in Egypt and among the Hittites. This linear signary was developed variously, but retained much in common in different countries. It was first systematised by the numerical values assigned to it by Phoenician traders, who carried it into Greece, whereby the Greek signary was delimited into an alphabet. But the fuller form of the signary survived in Karia with thirty-six signs, and seven more in Iberia, thus giving values to forty-three. This connection of the Iberian with the Karian is striking; so is that of the Egyptian with the West rather than with the East. Signs found in Egypt have thirteen in common with the early Arabian, fifteen in common with Phoenician, and thirty-three in common with Karian and Kelt-Iberian. This stamps the Egyptian signary of the twelfth and eighteenth dynasties as closely linked with the other Mediterranean systems" (pp. 167 and 168). Mr. Clodd reaches the conclusion "that the Phoenician alphabet was a compound from various sources, the selection and modification of the several characters being ruled by convenience, and that, primarily and essentially commercial. Like all business people immersed in many transactions, their method was brevity, and so they aimed as near 'short-hand' as they could. They got rid of surplus signs, of the lumber of determinatives and the like, and invented an alphabet which if it was not perfect (as no alphabet can be, because the letters are not revised from time to time to represent changes in sound), was of such signal value as to have been accepted by the civilized world of the past, and to have secured, with but slight modifications, a

permanence, assured to no other invention of the human race" (p. 177).

It is difficult to discuss Evans's theory of the Cretan origin or Petrie's theory of the "signary" origin of the alphabet, because neither Evans nor Petrie is as yet able to interpret the signs from which they propose to derive the Phoenician characters. Evans's theory rests partly on the resemblance of outer form, and partly on exploded interpretations of the names of the Phoenician letters. Sir John Evans made a set of pictographs, based on the supposed meanings of the Phoenician letter-names, out of which he fancied that the Phoenician characters were developed —an ox, a horse, a camel, a door, etc. His son, Mr. Arthur Evans, finds in the Cretan linear characters signs which he thinks to be the intermediaries between the original pictographs, as proposed by Sir John Evans, and the finally developed Phoenician letters; but, in the first place, he does not yet know the values of the Cretan signs which he proposes to identify with the Phoenician letters; and, in the second place, the names of the Phoenician letters have not the meanings assigned to them by Sir John Evans, which meanings are essential to his theory. In many cases the names of the Phoenician letters were not words with intelligible meanings, at least in Phoenician or any Semitic tongue, and the pictographs imagined by Sir John Evans on the basis of the supposed meanings of those letters have, therefore, absolutely nothing to rest upon. It is probably true that the forms of some of the Cretan linear signs have striking similarities with some of the earliest Phoenician characters, but I fail to see that these similarities are more striking or more numerous than those detected by De Rougé between the Egyptian hieratic and the Phoenician, by Ball and others between old Babylonian and Phoenician, or by Petrie between the "pottery" marks constituting his signary and the Phoenician characters.

Petrie's theory I do not know how to estimate. What he has actually found is not clear to me, or whether such a "signary" as he claims did in fact exist in Spain, Karia and Egypt from 6000 B. C. onward.

I have already alluded to Hommel's argument that the Phoenician alphabet was derived from the Babylonian cuneiform. In his *Südarabische Chrestomathie*, he maintains that the South-Arabian script was older than the North-Semitic; and that the

alphabet was brought to the Phoenicians and neighboring peoples from Arabia, its birthplace or place of derivation. So he says elsewhere: "The oldest traditions of the Hebrews must still have been written in the Minaean alphabet."[1] Indeed, if the theories held by Glaser, Hommel or more recently Weber,[2] as to the antiquity of the Minaean script be correct, it would follow almost of necessity that that script is the parent of the Phoenician alphabet, and that it originated probably somewhere in the first half of the second millennium. This subject is discussed briefly but forcibly by Lidzbarski in the *Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik*, vol. i., part 2. His conclusions are, on the ground of epigraphy, that the South-Arabian alphabets must have been derived from the North-Semitic script, substantially as we find the latter in the Mesha inscription, and that the forms of the characters in the earliest South-Arabian inscriptions yet found show so considerable a development as to presuppose the lapse of a long period of time. The Phoenician alphabet must, he thinks, have been invented or developed somewhere between 1200[3] and 1000 B. C. From the Phoenicians or Canaanites that alphabet was borrowed by the southern Arabians on the one side and the Greeks on the other at about the same period, not far, probably, from 1000 B. C., and while it remained a fixed quantity, both as to the letters and also as to their forms, in its original habitat, Phoenicia and the neighboring regions in Southern Arabia on the one side and Greece and the west on the other, additional letters were added, and the forms of the letters, their position and their order changed. Incidentally, Lidzbarski discusses the origin of the Phoenician alphabet. The Phoenicians, in his judgment, were, as Rawlinson has called them,[4] "adapters rather than inventors," who obtained the suggestion for the alphabet from some previously existing system of writing. This system must have been either the Mesopotamian, that is cuneiform, or

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[1] *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1897, p. 271.

[2] *Studien zur Südarabischen Alterthumskunde*, von Otto Weber. *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1901, 1.

[3] In a discussion of the Golenischeff Papyrus, in his *Studien zur vorderasiatischen Geschichte* (pp. 31 f.), Prof. W. Max Müller suggests that the Philistines at Dor had archives extending back to 1200 B. C. Were these written in the Phoenician alphabet or in a script brought with them from Asia Minor?

[4] *History of Phoenicia*, p. 60.

the Egyptian. "Of the former we know that in 1500 B.C. it was in common use in the territory of the West-Semites. On the other hand, all over Phoenicia and Palestine, in fact everywhere where we meet with traces of the Phoenicians, we find objects which are covered with Egyptian representations and written characters. There may be even pointed out among them characters which resemble the letters of the alphabet. Accordingly, a dependence on one system is as possible as on the other. But the alphabet is consonantal, the cuneiform syllabaric; the signs of the alphabet are pictures, the cuneiform signs were, at the time in which alphabetic writing must have originated, no longer recognizable by the ordinary writer as picture writing, but as a system of lines; the alphabet is akrophonic, the cuneiform is not. Now the Egyptian script is akrophonic, consonantal and consists of pictures. There is properly, therefore, no choice left. Accordingly, I see in *the alphabet a dependence on the Egyptian system of writing*, the creation of a man of Canaan who knew of the existence of the Egyptian script and something of its system, whose knowledge however did not reach so far as to enable him to borrow from it particular signs." It will be observed that while Lidzbarski altogether rejects the old theory of DeRougé or the later theory of Halévy, of an Egyptian borrowing from the hieratic or the hieroglyphic, he nevertheless finds the inspiration for the Phoenician alphabet on the side of Egypt.

McCurdy, in his *History, Prophecy and the Monuments*, vol. iii, § 873, argues against the Egyptian and in favor of the Babylonian origin of the alphabet: (1) "That the Egyptian language and writing never had any footing in Asia; (2) that the Babylonian language and writing were in common use in Syria and Palestine for centuries before the Phoenician alphabet was introduced to the world; (3) that at the time when circumstances most favored the introduction of Egyptian letters into Western Asia, namely, the days of the Egyptian occupation of Palestine and Phoenicia by the kings of the nineteenth dynasty, the Babylonian language and writing were used for ordinary purposes in these countries and even in correspondence addressed to Egyptians residing in Egypt. Hence, apart from the fact that an obvious resemblance is lacking between most of the Phoenician letters and any selected list of hieroglyphs, no historical basis existed for the adoption by Asiatics of the writing of the alien and self-centered Egyptians."

McCurdy is of the opinion, however, that the alphabet originated not among the Phoenicians, but among the Aramaeans of Mesopotamia, probably at Charran. One of his reasons for this opinion, that "historically the common alphabet changed far more among the Aramaeans than among the Phoenicians," is, however, in reality a strong argument against his thesis.

Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch, in *Die Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems* (1897), presents a compromise between the Babylonian and Egyptian views. "The Canaanite script-makers took from the hieroglyphic script . . . the great foundation principle of akrophony," but the majority of the letters themselves they took from the Babylonian cuneiform. In reaching the latter conclusion he is guided more by the names of the letters than by their forms. Fifteen out of the twenty-two Phoenician letter-names he finds to be good Babylonian words. The letter-names are also, from the distinctively "Canaanite" form of some of them, *aleph*, *daleth*, *waw* and *yodh*, an evidence that the alphabet was a Phoenician or Canaanite, not an Aramaean or South-Arabian invention. Some of the signs were even, he thinks, of Phoenician invention, and derived neither from the Egyptian nor the Babylonian. Zimmern,[1] commenting on Delitzsch's theory, says very truly that a mere comparison of letter-forms has only produced confusion, and can never lead to certain results, and devotes a brief discussion to the letter-names, and the order in which those letter-names appear. Of Delitzsch's fifteen Babylonian names he accepts only twelve as beyond question. Following Peiser's[2] argument as to the definite arrangement of the signs of the Babylonian syllabary, some 400 in number, and the selection for ordinary use of half that number, also in a definite order, he finds that eight of the twelve Babylonian letter-names in the Phoenician alphabet are taken from the shorter list in the relative order in which they are found there. This cannot, it seems to him, be a mere chance. He concludes that the Phoenician alphabet was a "mixtum compositum of Babylonian and Egyptian elements . . in which the Babylonian furnished the groundwork of the words of the alphabet in an order already established among the Babylonians, the Egyptian the principle of akrophony."

Such are the various theories of the origin of the alphabet now in the field. Let us review briefly the known facts, and see

[1] *ZDMG.* L., p. 667, ff.

[2] *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1886, 1887.

what further material, if any, is available for the study of the problem of the origin of the alphabet.

The earliest inscription in Phoenician characters yet found is, possibly, that known as the Baal Lebanon inscription, on portions of three bronze sacrificial bowls, supposed to have been dedicated by different donors in the temple of Baal of the Lebanon not far from Sidon. This inscription may be as early as 1000 B. C. More certain in date are the Moabite stone from Diban, from the first half of the ninth century, and from about the same period an Aramaean inscription from Nirab near Aleppo. After this inscriptions increase in number; but with the first of these inscriptions we find the Phoenician alphabet complete; no new letters are added after that, and even the forms of the letters remain substantially unchanged, so far at least as the Phoenicians are concerned. The Phoenicians, Aramaeans, Moabites, Hebrews and other Semitic peoples of the Mediterranean countries of Asia possessed as early as the ninth century an identical alphabet. But while we have from Phoenicia and the neighboring regions no inscriptions which certainly antedate the ninth century, and only one which is supposed by any to be as old as the tenth century, we have from the development of alphabets borrowed from the north Semitic in other countries presumptive evidence that that alphabet itself was older than 1000 B.C. The Minaean-Sabaean inscriptions of southern Arabia, which date back to the ninth century, give us an alphabet which, while derived from the Phoenician or North-Semitic alphabet, evidently has a long period of development behind it. The letter-forms have become elaborate and ornate, they have been changed in position, and new letters have been added. Lidzbarski argues with much reasonableness that this development can only be explained by admitting a long period of use, and supposes that the South-Arabians must have borrowed the North-Semitic script somewhere between 1000 and 1200 B. C. Now it is evident from a study of the names of the letters as they meet us in the later Ethiopian, a derivative of the South-Arabian, that with the letters of the alphabet their names also were borrowed by the South-Arabians, and that, therefore, between 1000 and 1200 B. C. the Phoenician alphabet as we know it, twenty-two letters with definite names,—some of which, as we shall see later, were recognized by the South-Arabians as words, and therefore translatable, and some of which were to them designations quite without significance—was a completed

fact. It is not clear from the evidence of the South-Arabian scripts that the order of the letters of the alphabet was at that time definitely fixed, but the Greek alphabet and its Italic derivatives give us evidence on that point. These alphabets also seem, from the evidence of their development, to have been borrowed from the Phoenicians, as early as 1000 B. C., if not earlier. Here the letter-names were borrowed with the letters, in the order with which we are familiar in the Phoenician alphabet. Letters are dropped, it is true, and new ones are added, the order of writing and the forms of the letters are changed, but it is clear that what was adopted originally was the Phoenician alphabet of twenty-two letters, arranged in the same order in which they occur in the North-Semitic alphabet, and with the same names.

As early as the ninth century B. C. an alphabet, mediated by the Phoenicians, was in use from Mesopotamia to Italy, and from the borders of Asia Minor southward to Egypt. Before 1000 B. C., at the earliest, we have found no inscription composed in this alphabet.

In the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B. C., we find in part of this same territory, the eastern part of it, Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, etc., the region in which the Phoenician alphabet seems later to have been perfected, another script in use. At that time Canaanites, Phoenicians, Aramaeans and other inhabitants of western Asia made use, at least in their correspondence with one another, of the Babylonian cuneiform script. They used, also, the Babylonian language, although in some places there may have been an application of that script to the writing of the local language. At the same period in a small area in the western part of this territory, the eastern part of Crete, another script, the Cretan linear, was in use. Certainly at that time the Phoenician alphabet was known neither to Asians nor Greeks. There was in existence at that period a civilized world, the parts of which were in communication, interacting to some extent on one another, extending certainly from Persia on the east as far as Italy on the west, and from the Balkan peninsula to southern Arabia and Nubia, in which were several independent civilizations and several systems of writing—Babylonian, Egyptian, Cretan, Hittite, Cypriote and apparently others. Somewhere about the thirteenth century this civilization began to go to pieces, owing largely to the inroads of northern barbarians. The conditions were somewhat similar in many respects to the condi-

tions of the fourth and following Christian centuries. As there, the inroads of the barbarians overwhelmed the western empire and reduced the eastern empire to the verge of impotence, until finally new inroads of barbarians from the east overthrew that empire and civilization, after the West had developed a new civilization of its own; so here the "Dorian" invasion overturned and destroyed the so-called Mycenaean civilization of Greece, the final catastrophe occurring traditionally about the twelfth century, while about the same period we find the eastern part of our civilized world in a state of decay, out of which, however, it was to arise later to a new life. At the time of the "Dorian" invasion in the West we find the Assyrians struggling, at first apparently with success, with the Musche and other northern peoples. Tiglath-pileser I. (1120–1090) claims a career of brilliant victories over those northern foes, although, be it observed, he removes his capital southward from Calah to the ancient site of Ashur. But following his reign comes a long, dark, and obscure period of weakness and confusion in both Assyria and Babylonia. Egypt also suffered from the same influences, undergoing invasions from the north and west in the thirteenth and following centuries, and falling into confusion and decay.

Following the extremely brilliant period of civilization, which culminated somewhere about the fifteenth century B. C., there comes a long period of eclipse or retrogression, affecting the whole area of the civilized world in a greater or less degree. Out of the confusion and disorder of that period developed new powers and forces along the Levant. We find the Phoenicians coming to the front, and a highly civilized world of small states—Aramaean, Hebrew and the like—covering western Asia. It was at this period that the Phoenician alphabet seems to have been invented, which we find confronting us in a complete form about 1000 or 900 B. C. From what source did the Phoenicians derive that alphabet or the inspiration to its invention? The *a priori* argument in favor of a Babylonian origin is strong, in view of the fact that the Babylonian script had been in use throughout all that region immediately precedent to the period of disorder and upheaval. Moreover, that script always showed itself peculiarly fitted for adaptation to foreign languages and even to the formation of new systems of writing. The Babylonians had borrowed it from the Sumerians and adapted it to

their own language, modifying its forms and values in the process. The Elamites had done the same. The Assyrians modified the Babylonian script. The Armenian highlanders about lake Van borrowed the Assyrian cuneiform and adapted it to their own tongue, and other peoples seem to have done the same. At a later date the Persians developed out of the complicated cuneiform with its ideographic and syllabic values a comparatively simple syllabic script. Perhaps, also, at a very early date, the primitive Chinese characters were developed from this same cuneiform script.

On the other hand it must be pointed out that Egypt was, from an early period, in close contact with Palestine and Phoenicia and with the whole west Asian and Aegean coast. Evans's discoveries in Crete show Egyptian influences in the development of writing there. May not the same have been true in Phoenicia also, especially in view of the fact that at a later period we find in Phoenicia distinct evidence of borrowing in art motives and the like?

Again it was in this dark period of confusion, during which the alphabet seems to have come into being, that, as a result of the "Dorian" invasion, some of the Cretans, users presumably of the Cretan linear script, driven out of their own territory, descended on the shores of Palestine and became a part of the Philistines of history. Here they were close neighbors of the Phoenicians, and Evans's proposition that it was out of the script which they brought with them that there was developed the Phoenician alphabet, which later the Phoenicians carried back to Greece, is certainly not lacking in plausibility.

This is our present condition of knowledge and speculation. But it seems to me that the most valuable source of information with regard to the origin of the alphabet has not yet been thoroughly investigated or properly taken into account, namely the etymology of the letter-names. I believe that there is a far greater likelihood of determining the origin of the alphabet through the names than through the forms of the letters, and it is precisely in their treatment or their disregard of these letter-names that I find the various Egyptian, Cretan and Babylonian theories which have been presented unsatisfactory.

We have for comparison Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, Samaritan, Arabic and Ethiopic names for the letters. Stade[1] says with

[1] *Hebräische Grammatik*, p. 31.

regard to these names: "The letter-names appear to be very old, for they sound alike among the Hebrews, Greeks and, with a few exceptions, the Ethiopians also. Several, which in their language give no sense, the last named have partly made euphonious, partly replaced by synonyms. The Greek and Hebrew have the older forms." The Greek letter-names are perhaps the most valuable of all for comparison. These are evidently borrowed from a foreign source, and are in many cases changed from their original form merely by the addition of an *a*, a common use in the transliteration of foreign words into Greek.[1] The Arabic seems farthest of all from the original forms. It has often dropped the old name altogether, substituting a new sound-name, much as was done in the Latin alphabet. Aethiopic is sometimes valuable on account of its translation of names, thus showing a consciousness that they were actual words with a meaning. The Syriac and Samaritan are useful for purposes of comparison with the Hebrew. The old Hebrew names are preserved to us in Greek transcription in the Septuagint translation of Lamentations, and for several of these names we have slightly variant forms.

1. Heb. aleph; Gr. alpha; Syr. aleph; Sam. alaph; Aeth. alph; Ar. alph. The original form of the name was clearly *aleph* or *alph*, which is triliteral and apparently a word. In exactly this form the word means "thousand" in Hebrew. Three times, however, we have the plural *elaphim*, oxen; which appears to be evidence that *aleph* also meant ox in Hebrew, and probably in the Canaanite group of languages in general. Indeed, the Greek writers report that *aleph* was a Phoenician word meaning ox. It has the same meaning in the same form in Assyrian-Babylonian, but in no other Semitic languages.

2. Heb. bêth; Gr. bêta; Syr. and Sam. bêth; Aeth. bêt; Ar. bâ. The name was clearly *bêth*, which is a word meaning house in Hebrew precisely as it stands. In practically the same form it appears in all the Semitic languages.

3. Heb. gimel or giml; Gr. gamma; Syr. gamel; Sam. gaman; Aeth. geml; Ar. jîm. Vocalized as it stands this letter-name is not a word in Hebrew nor in any other known language. It has

[1] McCurdy supposes this *a* to be the Aramaic emphatic, and mentions it in his argument for the Aramaean, not Phoenician origin of the alphabet (vol. iii, § 876). It is in fact used or liable to be used in the transliteration of any foreign words into Greek.

ordinarily been assumed to mean camel, which is *gamâl*. Now why, if the letter-name were originally *gamâl*, camel, should it have been changed to the unintelligible *giml* of the Hebrew? This form, with its accent on the first syllable, as also the similar Syriac and Aethiopic, argues strongly against an original *gamâl*, and this argument is supported by the Greek and Arabic. The latter, by its long vowel, suggests an original form like the Hebrew, accented on the first syllable, which finally lost the unaccented second part. The Greek form suggests an original *gaml*, the doubling of the *m* being due to assimilation.[1] Apparently the original letter-name was *gaml*, or *geml* or *giml*, the vowel being indeterminate. Now *gaml*, or *geml* or *giml* undoubtedly looks like a Semitic word, being triliteral in form, and we have in fact a common Semitic root with these three radicals, meaning ripe; but there is no word of this form from that root.

4. Heb. daleth, deleth, delth or delt; Gr. delta; Syr. daleth or daled; Sam. dalat; Aeth. dent; Ar. dâl. The original form of the letter-name was clearly *dalt* or *delt* (the change of *l* to *n* in Aethiopic is not uncommon). *Dalt* or *delt* is, in precisely this form, a word in Hebrew, and apparently also in the Canaanite group of languages, meaning door, or valve of a door. It is found in Assyrian-Babylonian, also, with the same form and meaning, but does not appear in the other Semitic languages.

5. Heb. hê (or ê); Greek e-psilon; Syr. hê; Sam. î or ê; Aeth. hôi; Ar. hâ. This letter-name is no word but a meaningless sound, whether originally an *ê* or a *hê* is not clear.

6. Heb. wau; Gr. u-psilon; Syr. wau; Sam. ba; Aeth. wawe; Ar. wâ. This name, as it stands vocalized in Hebrew, is the word nail or peg, which occurs only in the priest-code in the book of Exodus, in the description of the tabernacle. It is not found in the other Semitic languages. A comparison of the letter-names in the other languages suggests that this similarity is accidental, and that this letter-name was not originally a word, but merely the sound of *u* or *w*.

7. Heb. zain or zai; Gr. zêta; Syr. zain, zai or zê; Sam. sên; Aeth. zai; Ar. zâ. In none of the forms in which it appears is this letter-name a word. The etymologies sought for it have no

[1] It is also possible, so far as the Greek form is concerned, that the doubling of the *m* denotes no assimilation, but is, as in the case of *kappa* and *koppa*, caused by the addition of the final *a*, and that the original form was *gam*.

foundation. A comparison of the forms in which it appears seems to show that in the original form it was a syllable, *zê* or *zai*; this was sometimes nunated in Hebrew and Syriac; in Greek the ending *ta* was added, through the influence, apparently, of the following êta.

8. Heb. chèth; Gr. êta; Syr. chêth; Sam. ît; Aeth. chaut; Ar. châ. There is a word of almost this form in Arabic meaning fence, and perhaps also in Assyrian (cf. on Delitzsch's *chêtu*, fence, however, Zimmern, ZDMG, l., pp. 667 ff.), but no such word is known in Hebrew or Aramaean. The original form of the letter-name was evidently chêth. Was this a syllable (like chat, for instance, in the Babylonian syllabaries) or was it an original Semitic word which later passed out of use in Hebrew and Aramaean? But if a word, why was it not recognized as such in the South Semitic? The evidence is in favor of regarding it merely as a syllable.

9. Heb. ṭêth; Gr. thêta; Syr. ṭêth; Sam. ṭît; Aeth. ṭaiṭ; Ar. ṭâ. The original name was evidently ṭêth. This is not a word in any known language. Was it a syllable, merely, or is it a word from some tongue unknown to us?

10. Heb. yod or iod; Gr. iôta; Syr. and Sam. yud; Aeth. yaman; Ar. yâ. With a slight change of vocalization, to *yâd*, this name would be a word in Hebrew, meaning hand. With the present vocalization, *yod* or *yud*, which seems to have been the original letter-name, it is, apparently, the Phoenician word for hand. This root does not have the meaning hand in Aethiopic and has, therefore, been translated into *yaman*, right hand, evidence that it was recognized as a significant word. In Assyrian-Babylonian we have for hand the word *ḳat* (*u*), but *îd* (*u*) is used for the arm with the hand. The Syriac word for hand is identical with this, namely *îd*.

11. Heb. kaph; Gr. kappa; Syr., Sam., Aeth. and Ar. kâph. The original form of the name was clearly *kaph*, which is in Hebrew, as also in Assyrian, Aramaean and Arabic, a common word meaning hollow of the hand.

12. Heb. lamed or labd; Gr. lambda, better labda; Syr. lamed; Sam. labad; Aeth. lawe; Ar. lâm. Whether the original form of this letter-name was lamed or labed is not altogether clear, probably, however, the former. It looks like a Semitic word, of a common formation, from the root *lmd;* but while we have such a root in Hebrew, meaning to teach, we have no word

of this form either in Hebrew or any other language. The translation which has been given for this name, ox-goad, is a good example of the ridiculous method employed in finding etymologies for the letter-names. In Judges III., 31, occurs the ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, *malmad* or *malmed*, supposed, from the context, to mean ox-goad. From this uncertain derivative form, occurring once in Hebrew only, the interpretation of this letter-name has been manufactured.

13. Heb. mêm; Gr. mu; Syr. and Sam. mîm; Aeth. mai; Ar. mîm. The vocalization of the Hebrew name is so close to that of the Hebrew word for water, *maim*, that we may regard the two as identical. The same form substantially appears in Syriac, Samaritan, etc.; but the Greek has *mu*. Now the Phoenician and Assyrian word for water was *mu*. Clearly the Greeks received the letter-name from the Phoenicians, and apparently this was the original form, which was translated into *mêm* or *mîm* in Hebrew and Aramaic, where not *mu*, but *mêm* or *mîm* means water.

14. Heb. nun; Gr. nu; Syr. and Sam. nun; Aeth. naḥas; Ar. nûn. The original form was apparently *nun*, which is the word for fish in the North-Semitic languages, including Assyrian-Babylonian. Aethiopic bears witness to the fact that it was a significant word, by translating it into *naḥas*, serpent, the nearest approach, in words commencing with *n*, which that language allowed. The Greek form has dropped the final *n*, perhaps under the influence of the preceding *mu*.

15. Heb. ṣamek (ṣamk, ṣankh and ṣakhm); Gr. sigma; Syr. and Sam. ṣamkat; Aeth. ṣat; Ar. ṣâd. The original form of the letter-name was apparently *ṣamek*; but, although we have a good Semitic root with the radicals *ṣmk*, meaning support, there is in no known tongue a word which corresponds in form to *samek*.

16. Heb. ʿain: Gr. o (mikron); Syr. ʿê; Sam. ʿîn; Aeth. and Ar. ʿain. Clearly the original form was *ʿain*, and the name is the common Semitic word for eye.

17. Heb. pê; Gr. pî; Syr. pê; Sam. pî; Aeth. af; Ar. fâ. The original form was *pê* or *pî*. As consonantized in the Hebrew this is not a word, but with a very slight change, the substitution of a final *he* for an *aleph*, it would be the word mouth. In favor of regarding it as a word, we have also the translation in Aethiopic to *af*, mouth.

18. Heb. ẓade; Gr. [illegible]; Syr. ẓade; Sam. ẓadi; Aeth. ẓadai; Ar. ẓâd. The original form, *ẓade*, is no known Semitic word,

although it strongly reminds us of the Assyrian-Babylonian *ṣadu*, hunt. No name for this letter appears in the Greek alphabet, but the numerical value of the letter, 900, is attached to the name *san*, at the end of that alphabet.

19. Heb. ḳoph; Gr. koppa; Syr. ḳuph; Sam. ḳoph; Aeth. ḳaph; Ar. ḳaph. The original form was clearly *ḳoph* or *ḳop*, which is not a word in any known language.

20. Heb. rêsh; Gr. rô; Syr. rêsh or rîsh; Sam. rêsh; Aeth. rês; Ar. râ. *Rêsh* is not a word in Hebrew. The word *rôsh*, written with an aleph in the middle, is the word for head, the same in sound as the Phoenician ריש, which is, however, written without the medial aleph. This seems to have been the original letter-name, from which the Greek form *rô* was derived. The Hebrew letter-name seems to have been changed to *rêsh* under the influence of the Aramaic, where that form (here also written regularly with an aleph) means head, as it does also in Assyrian-Babylonian. The Aethiopic modified the form to *rîs*, retaining the same meaning, a further evidence that we have in this letter-name the word for head.

21. Heb. sin or sên; Gr. san (sampi, etc.); Syr. sîn; Sam. san; Aeth. sâut; Ar. sîn. The Hebrew is the word for tooth, *sên*, ordinarily written, however, *sinn*, which is also the Aramaic and Assyrian-Baylonian form of the same word.

22. Heb., Gr., Syr. and Sam. tau; Aeth. tawe; Ar. tâ. *Tau* is a word in Hebrew, and presumably in the Canaanite group of North-Semitic languages, meaning a mark, and once the mark made by an illiterate man (Job XXXI., 35). The original character to which the name belongs is, apparently, just such a rough, somewhat cross-like mark.

This analysis of the letter-names shows, incidentally, that the Greek alphabet was derived from the Phoenician, and that Phoenicians, not Aramaeans or South-Arabians, were the inventors or developers of the alphabet. Twelve of the letter-names are words with meanings, all of them indicating simple objects, six of the twelve being parts of the body. The objects denoted by the other six names—ox, house, valve of a door, water, fish and mark or cross—clearly do not belong to any people in a nomadic state, but to a settled, town-abiding population. Of these twelve significant words among the letter-names, eleven are words which may be found almost in the same form in the Babylonian syllabaries. The twelfth, *tau*, is known to us only in Hebrew and

Arabic. The mark or rough cross indicated by this letter was used later among the Greeks, although under a different name, to make an additional letter,[1] which was then added at the end of the alphabet, as, for example, X. Its position at the end of the Phoenician alphabet suggests that it may have been a Phoenician invention, the last letter added.

Six of the letter-names are not words in any known tongue and appear to be syllables only. Four letter-names are triliterals and resemble in their form Semitic words. In three cases the roots with the three literals are known in the Hebrew and North-Semitic dialects, but in none of the four cases do words of the same formation from those roots exist, either in Hebrew or any other Semitic tongue. There is absolutely nothing in these letter-names to suggest an Egyptian connection; no single form among them which can be referred to an Egyptian source. Of Cretan, Hittite and the like, we are not able to make the same assertion, because we do not know the Cretan and Hittite languages.

That twelve of the letter names are good, North-Semitic words, and that eleven of these are to be found in the Assyrian-Babylonian syllabaries suggests, of course, a Babylonian origin, and it would seem probable that the forms of these letters were derived from the same source as the names.

But what of the ten names which are not words? The Babylonian syllabaries contain both words and syllables. Some of the signs are ideographs, others stand for syllables only, or their more common use is syllabic. The fact, therefore, that the Phoenician letter-names are part of them words and part of them, apparently, only syllables, might seem to suggest a Babylonian origin.

On the other hand, it must be said at once that no syllabary with which we are acquainted seems to give us satisfactory prototypes for the Phoenician alphabet, either in the forms of the letters or their names, as a cursory examination of the theories of the Babylonian origin of the alphabet which have been propounded will show to be the case.

Peiser has called attention to a representation in Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*[2] of an official who is, apparently, counting the heads of the dead, making a memorandum upon a

[1] A similar word in Arabic, *tiwâ*, meaning to brand or mark a camel, etc., suggests that the root may have been a general Semitic one.

[2] Vol. 1, p. 184.

scroll. He suggests that there may have been a sort of shorthand of which Assyrian scribes made use, and which was written on material more perishable than clay and stone and which has, accordingly, not come down to us.

With our present knowledge it must be confessed that no satisfactory attachment has as yet been made to the Babylonian syllabaries, although the names of the alphabet seem to suggest that that alphabet derived its origin from Babylonian sources. There is, however, a long period of the development of the script about which we have as yet no information, our earliest inscriptions, as already pointed out, dating from the ninth or possibly the tenth century B. C., while the alphabet itself originated, in all probability, a couple of hundred years earlier, between which and the Babylonian signs from which the Phoenician letters might have developed, there would probably have been a further intervening period of 100 years or more. We must, apparently, wait for further light through the discovery of intermediary facts or forms; unfortunately, however, in the process of evolution or development intermediary facts and forms are peculiarly liable to vanish.

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